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ART STUDIES

Medieval Renaissance and Modern

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THE ORIGIN OF GILBERT STUART'S STYLE



THE ORIGIN OF GILBERT STUART'S STYLE

By FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

SINCE William Dunlap's time, Gilbert Stuart has been usually treated iconographically, and no one has paid much attention to his style of painting. Even the excellent critic Samuel Isham merely remarks that the technique "bears no relation to that of Gainsborough, Reynolds, or, least of all, to West." To emphasize the mystery of Stuart's processes Isham retells from Dunlap the capital anecdote of West's confusion when he tried to retouch and improve Stuart's head of George III. He gave it up, exclaiming, "you have a way of managing your tints unlike everybody else." The story suggests the scope of my inquiry.

On examination, Gilbert Stuart's technique, while very subtle, does not seem mysterious. He began as they all did with a brown rubbing which established the main relations; but, unlike the rest, he seems to have worked much of the local color into the brown in the first painting. This is the method in the captivating sketch of Mrs. Perez Morton at the Worcester Art Museum. It is at this point that the mystery begins. And it comes, after all, only to an enriching and defining finish through infinitesimal caressing strokes, mostly with the point of a small brush, which give the characteristic glow to the entire surface and emphasize the larger modelling. These little strokes are of every conceivable tint, but the differences are so slight that the surface counts as one vibrant unity. So far from being cryptic, the method, when delicately executed in reduced tones, is Fantin's; while, when executed heavily and in ill-chosen tints, it is Bonnat's decried "engraver's technique."

Happily we can fix quite accurately the year when Stuart acquired his characteristic technique. In the picturesque head of himself (Fig. 1) which hangs in the Redwood Library, Newport, Rhode Island, we find him already in fair command of his resources. There are more brilliant Stuarts, but here are the carefully manipulated and very luminous surfaces, the free modelling without linear aids, of the mature style. The portrait was painted at London in 1778, the artist being twenty-four years old, before he had attached himself to Benjamin West. In a somewhat earlier portrait of Stuart's friend Dr. Waterhouse we find the immature painter (Fig. 2). It also belongs to the Redwood Library, and like the Stuart with the Rubens Hat, is here published by courteous permission of that venerable foundation. It may seem hazardous to date an early Stuart when the late Lawrence Park's great Catalogue is in

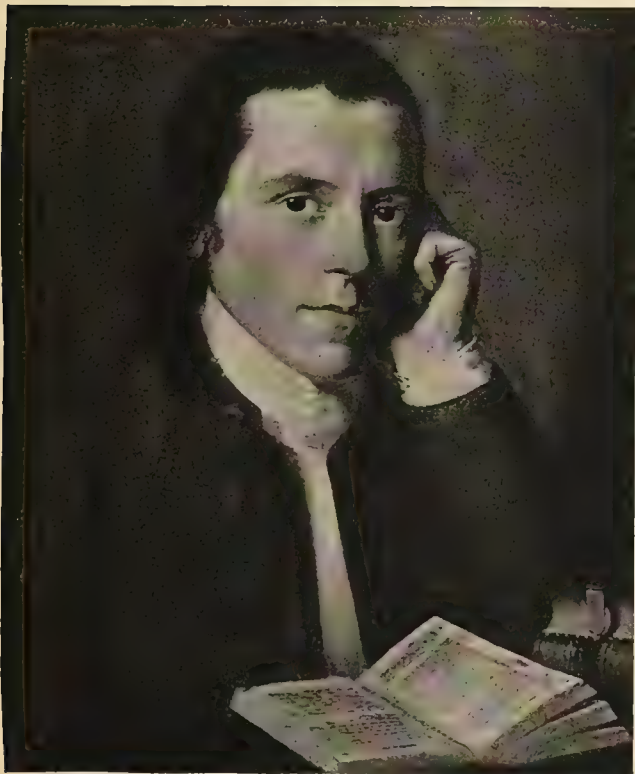
THE ORIGIN OF GILBERT STUART'S STYLE

the press, but I feel the Waterhouse can be dated on stylistic grounds with fair accuracy. Since it was painted at London, it cannot be earlier than the autumn of 1775. While it is still in the face-painter style which Stuart had learned from Cosmo Alexander, with the smooth, tight surfaces and linear structure proper to the manner, it is also far abler and more urbane than anything which Stuart had done in that manner before quitting Newport. In its own fashion it has style and seriousness. This improvement implies a considerable period of study. Waterhouse tells how he and Stuart devoted a day a week to visiting the picture collections of London, and doubtless such visits did more for Stuart's education than the classes of the Royal Academy. I think it would have taken months to make the advance shown in the Waterhouse portrait. We may set it at earliest in the spring of 1776. More likely yet is the summer or autumn of that year, after Waterhouse had returned to London from a spring in Scotland. We may hardly set it later than 1776 because of the wide stylistic gap, amounting to the remaking of a style, between the Waterhouse and Stuart's own portrait of 1778. Clearly Stuart, on coming to London at twenty-one, continued cautiously along the lines of his beginnings, consulting rather the better type of face-painters, such as Dance and Hudson, than such *virtuosi* as Gainsborough and Sir Joshua. But by 1777 he apparently had renounced the face-painters and was rapidly making himself a really painter-like style which we find achieved in his own portrait of 1778. Our problem then is, should we credit the change to the general ambience of the London of Sir Joshua and Gainsborough, or is some more specific and personal influence to be discovered?

Here I find profoundly instructive a series of consistent errors concerning paintings by Gilbert Stuart. And before undertaking this indirect and paradoxical approach, I wish to plead the value of error in connoisseurship. Any substantial and intelligent error about a work of art tells much about its quality; for if the judgment of the connoisseur may very readily be at fault, his eye is rarely wrong. In short, when Mr. Berenson gives to Antonello da Messina a neglected and anonymous Madonna, criticism may or may not follow him in the attribution, but it must follow him in the assertion of quality implied in the attribution. Any ultimate interpretation of the picture will rest on what he has seen. His error, if such it should turn out to be, will have been highly fruitful. The disputed border line between Giorgione and his contemporaries has seen much fruitful error. We have thus salvaged from obscurity many fine pictures which, whether by Giorgione or not, must be reckoned with. But only the errors that begin with a fine observation are valuable. When a sheaf of disparate works is brought together under one name, as in the case of the Verrocchio "made in Germany," it is futile to criticize the judgment involved. Indeed, the judgment, being based on a



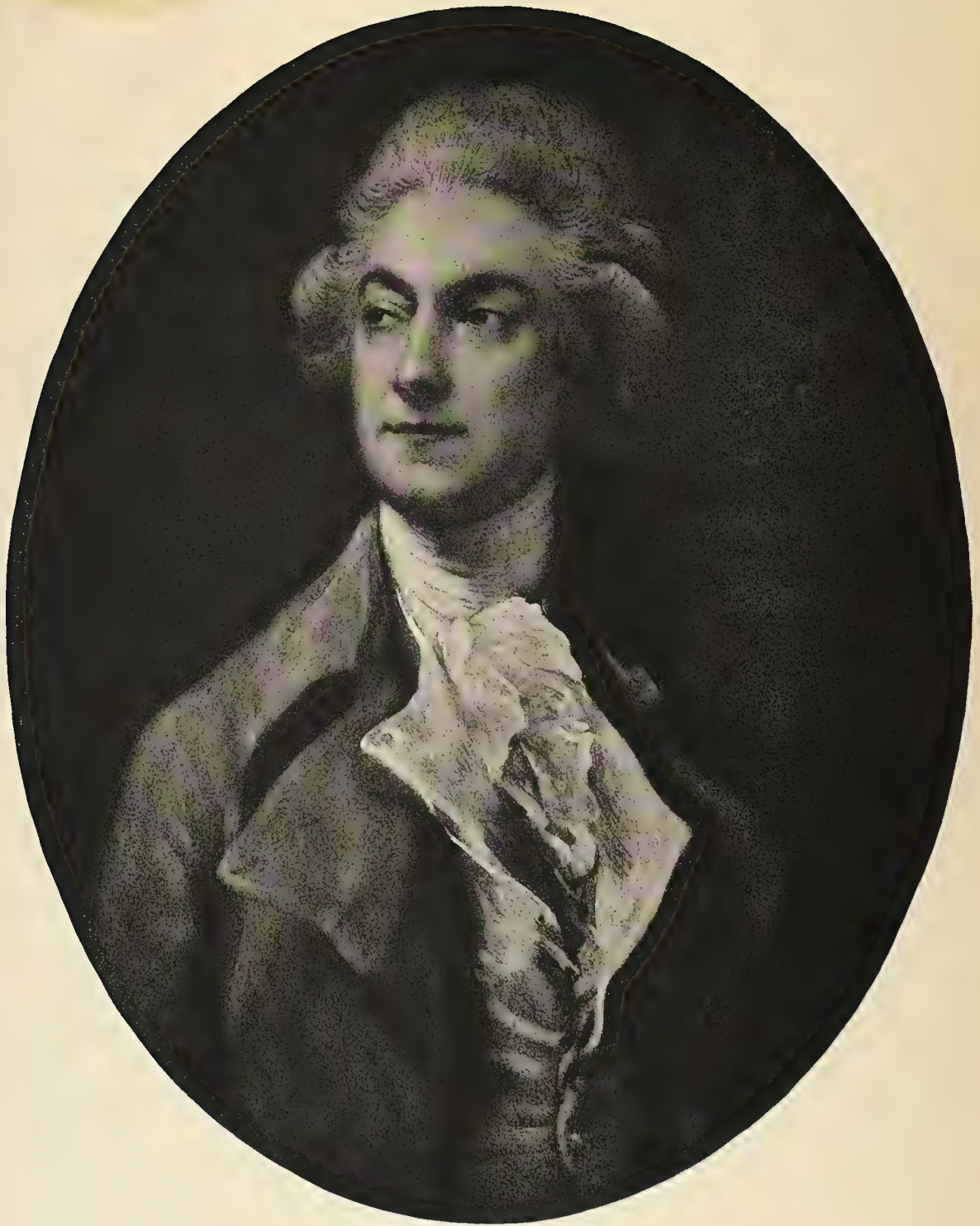
3. Gilbert Stuart. James Heath (about 1782).
Morgan Memorial, Hartford, Connecticut



1. Gilbert Stuart. Dr. Waterhouse (about 1776).
Redwood Library, Newport, Rhode Island



2. Gilbert Stuart. Portrait of the Artist (1778).
Redwood Library, Newport, Rhode Island



4. Thomas Gainsborough. Mr. Vestris. Wertheimer Collection, London

THE ORIGIN OF GILBERT STUART'S STYLE

visual illusion of identity in unlike things, may be entirely sound. What is amiss is that there has been no penetrative act of vision. Such an act may, of course, be followed by a wrong judgment, but that judgment will always be in the direction of the truth. I am profoundly suspicious of any connoisseurship in which judgment is never rushed into error by the urgency of the immediate impression. Such errors are always full of meaning and worthy of study.

A series of such errors has consistently confused the work of Gilbert Stuart with that of Gainsborough. In the late eighteen-seventies the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, wishing to use Stuart's portrait of Copley as a model for a terracotta medallion, received from Copley's descendants an engraving with a false ascription to Gainsborough.¹ In short, a Stuart of the early seventeen-eighties looked like a Gainsborough both to Copley's immediate descendants and to their engraver. We are dealing with people who, if they did not know Stuart, at least knew Gainsborough. In short, they were not deceived by the general period look of the portrait, but caught a genuine analogy of style and feeling. Unfortunately this picture has never been reproduced and is not available.

In 1878 there was loaned to the Royal Academy "A Gentleman Skating," ascribed with a (?) to Gainsborough. There was perhaps more connoisseurship in London journalism then than there is now. The painting was challenged in several quarters. Raeburn was suggested by one critic, Shee by another. It turned out to be Stuart's first full-length portrait, exhibited in the Royal Academy of 1784 and fully described by Dunlap.²

I am not ashamed of adding personally to this body of suggestive error. Three years ago, strolling listlessly through the National Portrait Gallery, I was halted by the reflection — what an odd and austere phase of Gainsborough! I had caught with the corner of my eye Stuart's Benjamin West and Lord Saint Vincent. When I saw Gainsborough's George Colman hanging near by, I was comforted and began the study which is here presented.

The error repeated itself a year later when I should have been on my guard. It was at the Morgan Memorial, Hartford, Connecticut, and I standing before the two admirable little portraits of the English engravers Ozias Humphrey and James Heath (Fig. 3). Gainsborough, my eye and voice said; Gilbert Stuart, the labels corrected.

Naturally I do not claim any evidential value for this series of consistent errors. They do, however, indicate our line of investigation.

Thomas Gainsborough settled in London in the summer of 1774. He was already very famous as a portrait painter, and many of his portraits were in such great houses as Waterhouse and Stuart used to visit. Being at odds

¹ G. C. Mason's *Gilbert Stuart*, p. 164. This is probably the print by W. C. Edwards which is still listed as after Gainsborough in Sir Walter Armstrong's smaller biography of that artist.

² See Mason, p. 184.

THE ORIGIN OF GILBERT STUART'S STYLE

with the Royal Academy, Gainsborough, after his shift to London, did not exhibit at Somerset House until 1777. That year he showed three portraits, the next year four. Stuart also exhibited in the Academy of 1777 a "Portrait of a Gentleman." In short, before painting his own portrait of 1778, Stuart must have seen the three Gainsboroughs in the Academy of 1777, and probably also had seen the four in the Academy of 1778, for on the back of his own portrait Stuart wrote, "*Act. Suae* 24." He was born December 3, 1755, and only the last four weeks of the year 1778 fell within his twenty-fourth year. We must suppose either a queer error about his age or that the "Portrait with the Rubens Hat" was actually painted in the last days of 1778, when the painter had passed his twenty-third birthday. At least once, Gainsborough and Stuart met. The anecdote as the aged Stuart told it to Neagle is in volume one of the first edition of Dunlap, page 181. Young art students were debating their ideals in the antique class of the Royal Academy. Many advocated the direct imitation of some great master or school. Gilbert Stuart insisted on seeing nature with his own eyes. Gainsborough happened in at the moment, and, patting Stuart on the shoulder, said, "That's right, my lad; adhere to that, and you 'll be an artist." Probably this chance encounter was not followed by an acquaintance, for there is no trace of such a relation in the abundant anecdotage of Stuart's old age.

I feel that we have established a strong presumption that the Gainsborough-like look of the English Stuarts is not fortuitous, but the result of considerate imitation. Possibly the point, once raised, is so obvious that elaborate confrontations are superfluous. Let the reader note the increasing Gainsborough flavor from the self-portrait of 1778 (Fig. 2), through the portrait of James Heath probably of the early seventeen-eighties (Fig. 3) and that of Mrs. Luke White and her Child (which has now come to the Toledo Museum with the Libbey bequest) painted in Dublin about 1785 (Fig. 5), and let him begin his comparisons with Gainsborough's portrait of Mr. Vestris in the Wertheimer collection (Fig. 4). Everything will point the same way. In particular, it is instructive to note in the Dublin group how well the procedures and even the decorative tricks of the poet-painter Gainsborough lend themselves to Stuart's more objective mood. The child especially is very close in both feeling and workmanship to Gainsborough's Mr. Hare, in the Louvre.

After Stuart's return to America, the overt resemblance to Gainsborough gradually disappears in favor of a more robust and ruddy manner. But to the end, in the fine distribution of flesh tints, in the light rendering of filmy white stuffs and hair, in the brisk touch on the gold facings of uniforms, the technical lessons learned in young manhood still serve. For flesh painting Stuart himself virtually avows his debt to Gainsborough in a passage which seems conclusive.



5. Gilbert Stuart. Mrs. Luke White and Child (about 1785). Toledo Museum.
Courtesy of the Rinehardt Galleries, New York

THE ORIGIN OF GILBERT STUART'S STYLE

Gilbert Stuart's account of his own method of coloring and an implication of his debt to Gainsborough were made to William Dunlap, but so incidentally that its importance has escaped notice.

He told me [writes Dunlap]¹ that he thought Titian's works were not by any means so well blended when they left the esel, as the moderns infer from their present effect. He considers that Rubens had a fair perception of colour, and had studied well the works of the great Venetian, and that he must have discovered more tinting, or separate tints, or distinctness, than others did, and that, as time mellowed and incorporated the tints, he (Rubens) resolved not only to keep his colours still more distinct against the ravages of time, but to follow his own disposition with spirited touches. Mr. Stuart condemned the practice of mixing a colour on a knife, and comparing it with whatever was to be imitated. — "Good flesh colouring," he said, "partook of all colours, not mixed, so as to be combined in one tint, but shining through each other, like the blood through the natural skin." Vandyke he much admired, for the intelligence of his heads and his freedom. He spoke well of Gainsborough's flesh, and of his dragging manner of tinting; but he could not endure Copley's laboured flesh, which he compared to tanned leather.

A careful reading of this passage together with the evidence already presented will suggest that Gilbert Stuart found that special manner of managing tints, which baffled Benjamin West, and took the counsel of separate tints, spirited touches, and dragging handling from that accomplished résumé of the choice methods of Rubens and Vandyke which he had studied in the mature masterpieces of Thomas Gainsborough.

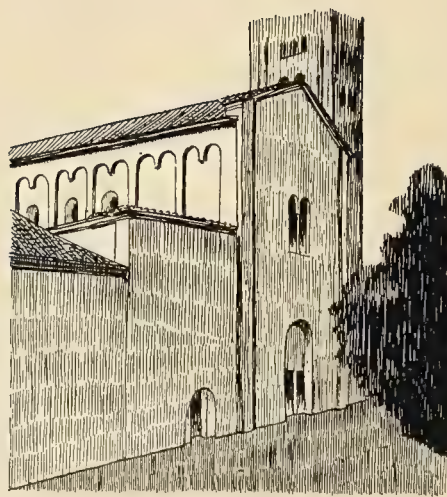
P.S. Lawrence Park's monumental Catalogue comes into my hands as I finish the proofs. It shows that I have overlooked my best evidence. The portrait of James Ward, signed and dated 1779 shows conclusively that at that date Stuart was completely under Gainsborough's domination. The picture is now at Minneapolis, in the Institute of Arts. A mere reference to Park's plate (No. 878, plate 549) will make the matter clear.

¹ Vol. I, p. 217.

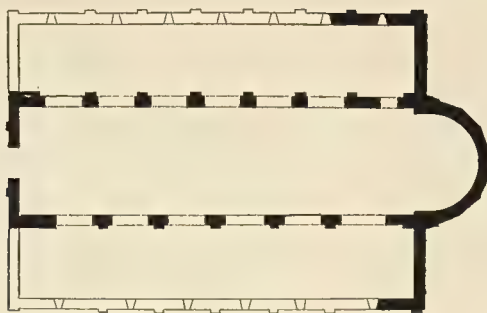
**DECORATIVE FORMS OF THE FIRST
ROMANESQUE STYLE**



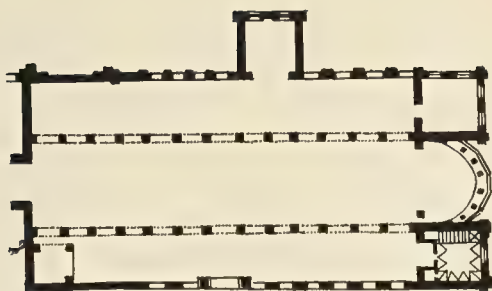
1. Ravenna. S. Giovanni Evangelista



3. Ravenna. S. Francesco



5. Ravenna. S. Vittore. Plan



2. Ravenna. S. Giovanni Evangelista.
Plan



4. Ravenna. S. Vittore

DECORATIVE FORMS OF THE FIRST ROMANESQUE STYLE

By J. PUIG Y CADAFAALCH

I

THERE exists in a large portion of western Europe a school of architecture that precedes chronologically the art usually associated with the word Romanesque. I have suggested that this be called the first Romanesque style. It forms the last phase of that indefinite period called Carolingian, which flourished during part of the ninth century, the tenth century, and almost all of the eleventh century. It was during this first Romanesque period that vaults were applied to the basilica, which had previously been roofed in wood; this method of construction had already been attained, when, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the period usually called Romanesque (which I call the second Romanesque style) undertook the solution of more important structural problems.

Geographically this first Romanesque school covers a great part of Europe, extending from southern Italy, whence it crosses the sea eastward to the coast of Dalmatia, and westward to the Mediterranean coast of France as far as the southern frontier of Catalonia in the eleventh century, which was the Moorish frontier; from Provence the style ascends the valleys of the Rhône and the Saône and reaches into Switzerland and the Rhineland.

This great school is characterized by an extraordinary unity; whether in the North or in the South, its productions may be recognized by their decorative system. This is of great simplicity; it is the decoration called Lombard, the chief elements of which consist of arched corbel-tables supported on pilaster strips; of galleries and blind niches decorating the cornices, squinches, and so forth.

This architectural system, which comes to possess other characteristics as

¹ The first Romanesque period in Catalonia is described in Puig y Cadafalch, Falguera y Goday, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1911), vol. II.

Communications on this question were made to the *Congrès Archéologique de France*, sessions of Narbonne and Perpignan, in 1906, under the title *Les influences lombardes en Catalogne* (Paris, Caen, 1907); to the congress of the history of art in Rome in 1912, under the title *L'area geografica de l'arquitectura lombarda*; and to the congress of Paris in 1921, under the title *Méthodisation de la chronologie du premier art roman*.

This theory was developed by the author in a course of eleven lectures delivered at the University of Paris in 1924-1925, under the title *L'architecture du IXe au XIe siècle en Catalogne. Phénomènes historiques et artistiques parallèles en France*.

DECORATIVE FORMS—FIRST ROMANESQUE STYLE

well, has long been remarked by archaeologists,¹ but the numerous discoveries in the East, and the more precise knowledge now acquired of the periods of Occidental art which preceded the Romanesque, make it perhaps worth while to study anew the origin of these very simple elements. In seeking them, we may also discover the source of other important motives, which are, as it were, the visible token of distant influences, rising in the fountain-heads of art, which the ancient races of humanity brought forth from the rock.

Before analyzing, it is necessary to define just what are the elements which constitute the decoration called Lombard of the first Romanesque period. These elements are not numerous, and may be briefly stated. They are: niches, blind arches, blind windows, niched cornices, arched corbel-tables, saw-tooth mouldings. Let us add to these the less common motive of a decoration of squares, like *opus reticulatum*, applied to tympana, apse arcades, and the zig-zags of some buildings of the eleventh century.

These are all the elements which are found in Catalonia and France, and those which Kingsley Porter has recognized in Lombard churches of the eleventh century, and those which have been studied in the topographies of Swiss art, and those which may still be distinguished, notwithstanding the too many restorations, in Rhenish churches.

Let us notice that many of them are elements characteristic of construction in brick, and let us seek for them in other historical periods.

II

We must begin by stating what preceded this system.

The earliest Christian churches had plain exterior walls, like the Roman basilicas and the great churches of the Byzantine Golden Age.

The most ancient examples of Christian churches with decorated exterior walls are at Ravenna, and date from the middle of the fifth century (mausoleum of Galla Placidia) to the beginning of the sixth century — S. Giovanni Evangelista (Fig. 1); S. Apollinare Nuovo; S. Apollinare in Classe.

At Ravenna, this exterior ornament consists of blind arches in brick, which echo on the exterior the main arcade of the interior. These blind arches, at a period the date of which is disputed, developed into a double arch, placed between two pilaster-strips and supported in the middle by a corbel — baptis-

¹ It is unnecessary to cite here the well-known works of Strzygowski on the subject, the first perhaps to call it to the attention of scholars, or those of Miss Bell and Ramsay, which are also familiar to everyone.

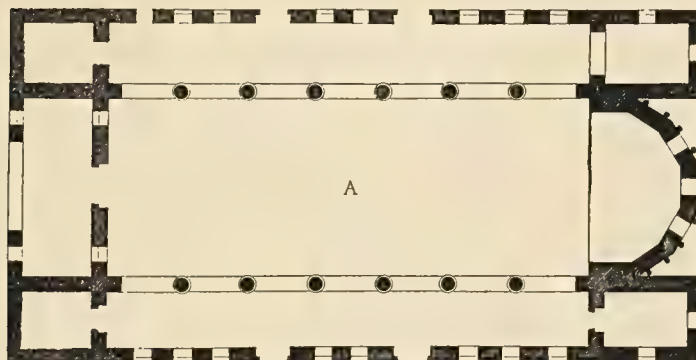
In Italy, after the study of Cattaneo, the problem was studied anew by Rivoira in his book *Le origini della architettura lombarda* (Roma, 1901), a book which has been subsequently in many points rectified and confirmed. It was followed by the work of Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture* (New Haven, London, Oxford, 1916).

In France the theme was developed by Courajod in eloquent and trenchant terms in his famous lectures; and it has since been taken up many times, chiefly by Vicomte Pierre Truchis and Émile Bonnet.

For a bibliography, see *Arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, vol. II, liv. iv, cap. 6.

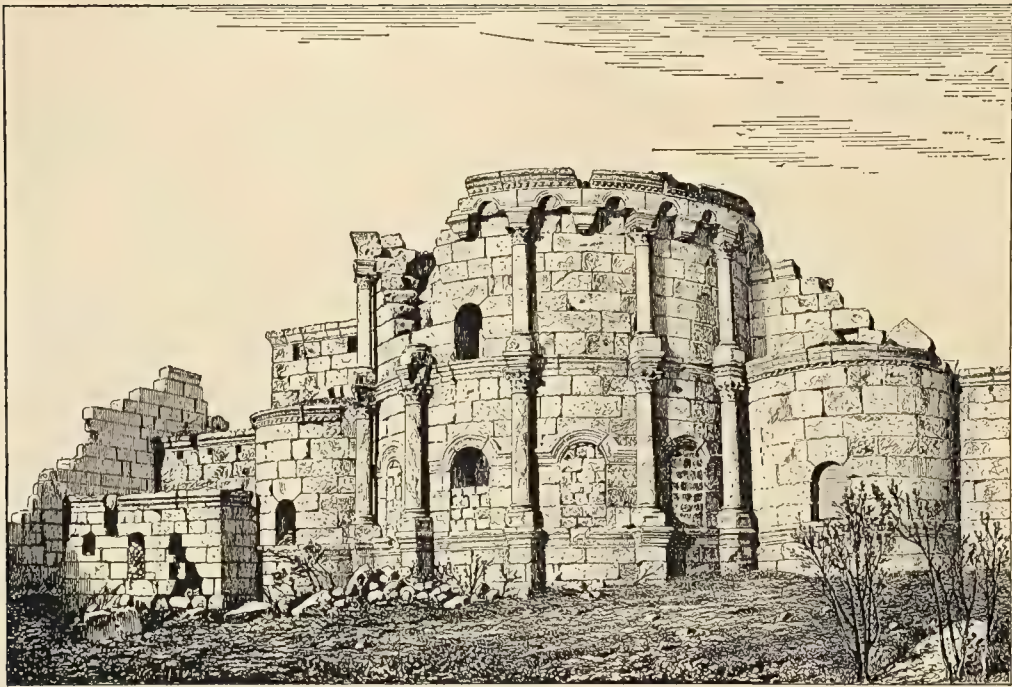


6. Tourmanin. (*Architecture Civile et Religieuse, Syrie Centrale, De Vogüé*)

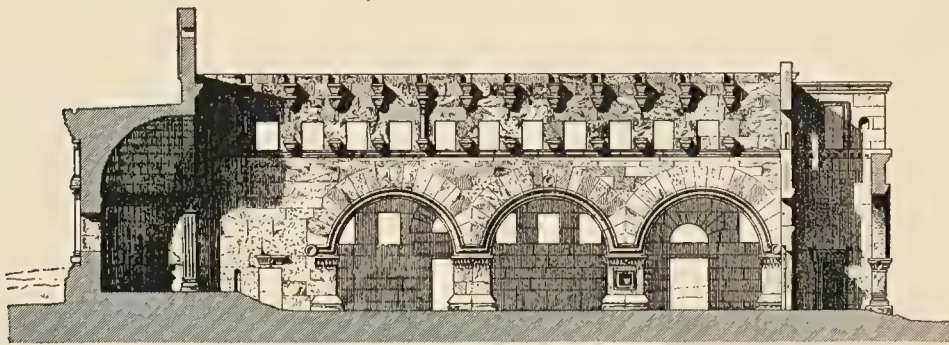


7. Tourmanin. Plan. (De Vogüé)





8. Kal'at Sim'an. St. Simeon Stylites. (De Vogüé)



9. Kalb Lauzeh. (De Vogüé)

DECORATIVE FORMS—FIRST ROMANESQUE STYLE

tery of Neone; S. Andrea; S. Vittore (Fig. 4); S. Pietro Maggiore, which is to-day S. Francesco (Fig. 3); S. Pietro in Sylvis at Bagnacavallo, Godo, Cesato, Trento, and others. Still later, the double arch became a series of little blind arches forming a decorative string-course, and this ornament has continued to live until modern times.¹

In the contemporary Christian monuments of Syria, we find an analogous artistic phenomenon, executed however in a different material—cut stone. The evolution can be followed in detail in a small group of churches. The apse of Tourmanin (Fig. 6) is decorated with an Hellenistic portico in two stories; the entablature of the upper, which was found destroyed, is a transformation of the classical entablature; the architrave is broken around each column, and the frieze has been cut into by niches adorned with a shell.

At Kalb Lauzeh, between each two columns there is a medallion, and the entablature is not disturbed. At Kal'at Sim'ân, the entablature is a combination of the two preceding cases (Fig. 8); the architrave is broken around the columns, the frieze in the intercolumniation is cut into by two niches and supported by a corbel in the centre.²

A further step is found in the basilicas of 'Arshîn and Bānķûsā,³ where the columns are suppressed, and the frieze of niches is supported by corbels.

One step more, and the old architectonic element becomes an ornament of little blind arches which the sculptor cuts in the lintels of doorways and in the triumphal arches of apses. This last development is found in the regions of Asia Minor and Armenia.⁴

The parallel in the evolution of this ornament in Syria and Ravenna would seem a coincidence, if the plans of the churches of Ravenna (Figs. 2, 5) did not also resemble those of Syria (Figs. 7, 9), and if we did not know that the two regions had close ecclesiastical and commercial relations.

The monuments of Syria employ a baroque system of decoration, which the later Greeks and Romans had abused—the application of a pseudo-portico in two stories. It is an interesting fact that this motive in Syria is not fantastic, but reproduces real Hellenistic porticos of the third century that we know, either from extant monuments, or from their imitations in the ornament of sarcophagi (Figs. 10, 15, 16). The root element is the motive of the niche decorated with a shell cutting and interrupting the horizontal line of the Hellenistic entablature. This motive, which fastened itself upon art like a strange obsession, has an historical explanation.

¹ See Rivoira, *Origini della architettura lombarda* (Roma, 1901); also the criticism of Ricci, with the same title, published in *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1902, no. 1. Gerola, *L'architettura deuterio-bizantina in Ravenna*, in *Ricordi di Ravenna medioevale per il sesto centenario della morte di Dante* (Ravenna, 1921).

² De Voglié, *La Syrie centrale*, Pls, 134, 125, 142.

³ Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts* (1899–1900).

⁴ Ramsay and Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches* (London, 1903). Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europas* (Wien, 1918).

DECORATIVE FORMS—FIRST ROMANESQUE STYLE

The influence of the Orient upon the Hellenistic world is witnessed by the infiltration into Greek architecture of a new system of construction and decoration.

Hellenism had created a system of construction based upon the simple equilibrium of vertical forces, and by this system had risen to great aesthetic achievements. The East, on the other hand, with its great centre of civilization in Mesopotamia, built with enormous masses of brick, and in its architecture the arch, the vault, and the niche were essential elements.

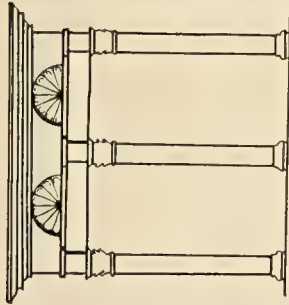
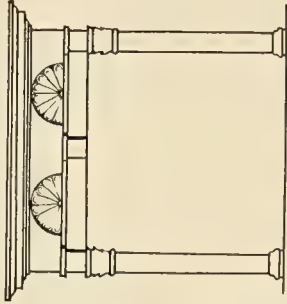
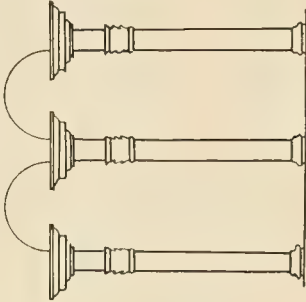
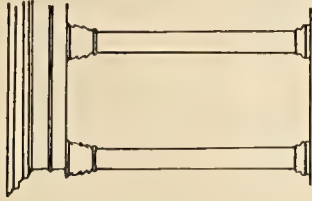
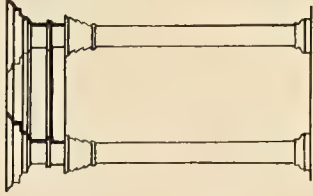
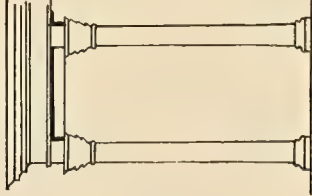
The penetration of the two systems began sporadically; the arch, the vault, and the niche enter little by little into classical composition.

At the time when the penetration of Oriental elements into Hellenistic architecture began to be more complete, the ancient art of Chaldaea and Assyria had been inherited by a new civilization, that of Persia, of the Parthians, and of the Sassanians. All these, but especially the last, returned to the old Mesopotamian tradition, rooted in the soil from the days of Chaldaea. Achaemenian art, on the contrary, was a court art of the royal residences “sans attaches avec les monuments antérieurs poussés sur le sol iranien.”¹

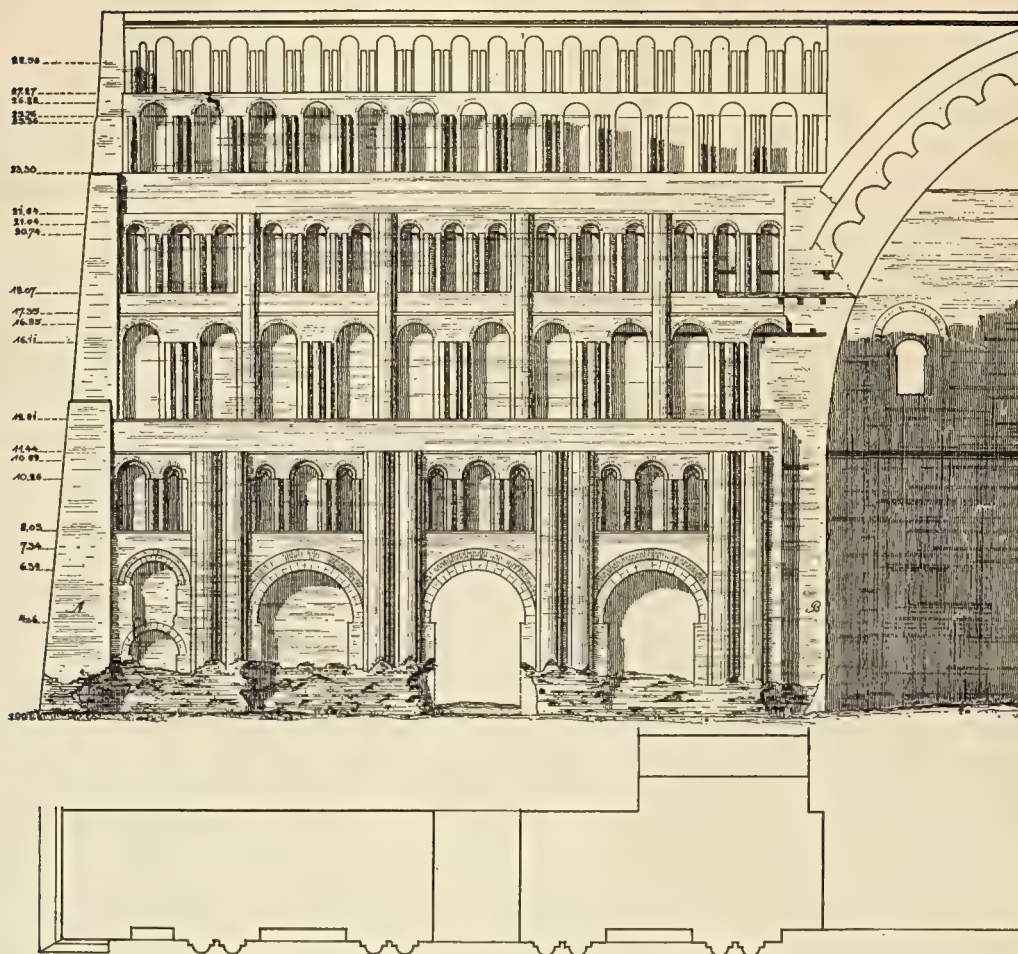
The architectural tradition of the Persians, the Parthians, and the Sassanians is represented first by the monuments of Firuzabad and Sarvistan, then by the palace of Ctesiphon (Fig. 11) of which there remains the great hall built by Sapor I (242–272), second king of the Sassanian dynasty. This is constructed wholly of bricks. Ctesiphon is a monument belonging to a powerful school of art, an art which revelled in the sumptuous, and which is characterized by the richness of its productions in precious metals. This art created textiles that before Byzantium imitated the splendors of Chinese weaving and dyes; a pottery, full of color and metallic glazes, prototype of the Moorish productions; genre scenes of hunting, of the garden, of the harem; a fauna royal and fantastic, geometrical in composition, placed symmetrically about trees, or altars of the sacred fire.

Ctesiphon and Firuzabad use as a principal theme of decoration the niche, frequently ornamented with a shell. This is found for example in a capital of Taq-i-bustan (Fig. 19). The niches are preceded by an arcade, which gives their supports a characteristic salience, like those of the buttresses of the most ancient palaces of Chaldaea, of the first architecture which man created (Fig. 11). Such is the arrangement shown on a silver plate of Sassanian workmanship at St. Petersburg (Fig. 20).

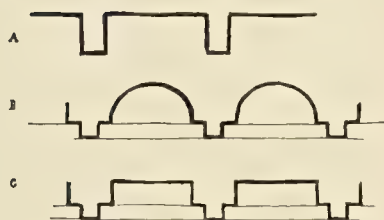
¹ Sarre, *L'art de la Perse ancienne*, p. 3.

	Sidamara Sarcophagus Salonican Ambo Arch of Theodosius II, Constantinople 408-450	First Quarter Fourth Century Fourth Century	Tourmanin	Sixth Century
	Sidamara, Sarcophagus	First Quarter Fourth Century	Kal'at Sim'an	End of Fifth Century
	Esquiline Basilica of Junius Bassus	Fourth and Fifth Centuries	Arshim Bankusa	Fourth Century
	Sidamara Sarcophagus Spalato	Early Fourth Century	Sta. Costanza, Rome Basilica Ursiana, Ravenna	370-396 Fourth Century
	Greek Portico	Arch of Tiberius, Rome Portico of Hadrian, Athens Baalbek Spalato Amida	First Century	Sixth Century
				
				
				Kalb Lauzeh

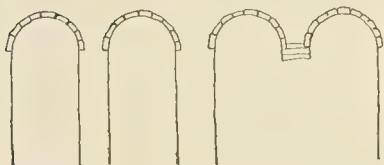
10. Comparative Chart of Hellenistic Porticos and Decorated Syrian Apses



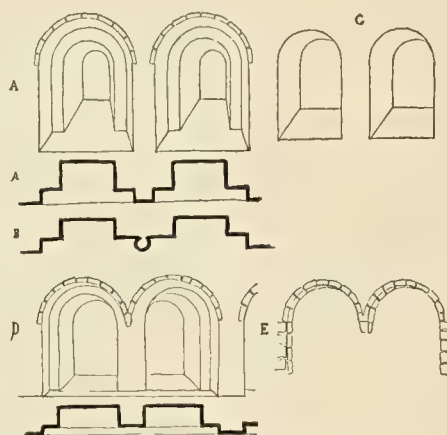
11. Ctesiphon Palace. (*Archäologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigris-Gebiet*, Vol. III, Sarre)



12. Diagrams of Apsidal Niches of Byzantine and Lombard Churches



14. Diagrams of Arcading and Double Arcading



13. Diagrams of Niches and Arcading

DECORATIVE FORMS—FIRST ROMANESQUE STYLE

III

Neither the Hellenistic forms translated into ornaments of Syrian apses, nor yet those of Ravenna, had an immediate influence upon the Christian art of the Middle Ages, either in the East or in the West. There is, as it were, a long period of silence and of hesitation, during which there reigns in architecture the austerity of undecorated exterior walls.

It is toward the tenth century that a strange reflection of the architecture of Ctesiphon, more or less influenced by Arab art, appears in the grottoes of Cappadocia, which preserve for us in rustic copies the architectonic compositions of ecclesiastical centres like Caesarea and Nazianzos, to-day destroyed.

This interesting group of subterranean chapels has been described by Rott in his account of his journey across Pisida, Pamphilia, and Cappadocia, and also by Jerphanion and Grégoire.¹ Many of the grottoes are basilican in plan, their façades are adorned with great rows of blind windows with horse-shoe arches. In certain, like Gereme, near Urgub, or in Ala Kilissé, a row of these blind windows, interrupted by pillars, ornaments the upper part of the façade; in others, like Atchyk Seraï, two rows are superposed; in two, that of Hagios Ephthemios of Gelvere and that of Perishem, the façade ends in a frieze of narrow horse-shoe arcades. Colonies of monks dug these subterranean churches in a region between Nazianzos and Caesarea, the ancient capitals of Christian eloquence and heroism (Fig. 18).

The subterranean chapels of Cappadocia are some of them of about 976–985, and all anterior to 1068–1071, when this region fell into the hands of the Seljuks.² In general, their frescoes are not anterior to the year 1000, at least as far as regards the group of Gereme. MM. Jerphanion, Millet, and Diehl agree in believing this group to date from the first half of the eleventh century.

At Constantinople there also reigned for centuries the same austerity in the treatment of exterior walls, which were severely simple. They are undecorated at Hagia Sophia, at Hagii Sergios and Bacchos, and in all the churches built from the time of Justinian until the iconoclastic controversy.

The centuries rolled by, and the churches of Constantinople continued to present bare walls. The same thing happened at Rome, at Milan, in Gaul, in Visigothic and Mozarabic Spain. It is toward the tenth century that exterior decoration reappears in the Christian churches of Constantinople, in brick edifices strongly influenced by the Sassanian monuments.

Let us notice this fact. Persian influence upon the Hellenistic and Roman worlds is an influence exerted by monuments in brick upon monuments in

¹ Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 276. Grégoire, *Voyage dans le Pont et en Cappadoce*, in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 1909.

² See Jerphanion, *Deux chapelles souterraines de Cappadoce*, in *Revue de l'art chrétien* (1914), p. 31.

DECORATIVE FORMS—FIRST ROMANESQUE STYLE

stone; the same thing is true of Syria. But in the present instance, we find the transmission of Sassanian forms in brick to monuments built in the same material.

What was chiefly taken over was the niche accompanied by saw-tooth string-courses, ceramic decoration, etc. — all ancient forms of decoration employed in the brick construction of Mesopotamia in the time of the Sassanians.

The most ancient Byzantine church in which this form of decoration appears is the Gul Djami (Fig. 22), which stands on the shores of the Golden Horn, and which curiously attracts the traveller both because of its poetic memories and its name — Mosque of Roses. It was built in honor of St. Theodosia, who was martyred in the reign of Leo the Isaurian. Ebersolt, Diehl and Bréhier, believe it to be of the end of the eighth century or of the beginning of the ninth, probably of the time of the Empress Eirene (780–802). Its plan is transitional, between the domed basilica and the cross-inscribed church of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The decorative form which we seek is to be seen in the side absidioles; in the central apse it has been damaged by whitewash and reconstruction.

The motive lasts long at Constantinople. It is found at Kilissé-Djami or Vefa-Djami (end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century): at Eski-Imaret-Djami, which has been identified with the church of the monastery of Christ built by Anna Dalassena, mother of Alexis I Comnenus (1061–1118); at the Kahrié-Djami, the ancient church of the monastery of the Chora rebuilt by Maria Ducas, mother-in-law of Alexis Comnenus (end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century); at the Zéïrek-Djami, a triple church, founded by the Empress Eirene, wife of John Comnenus (before 1126), who built the southern church, to which John Comnenus added before 1136 the mortuary chapel dedicated to St. Michael, and to the north a church in the form of a Greek cross dedicated to the Virgin of Pity.¹

Moreover, this architectural tradition continues in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as in the Fetiye Djami, the ancient church of the Pam-makaristos, which was built by Glavas Tarchamol before 1294, and at Fenari Issa Djami, which is believed to be as late as the fourteenth century.

The motive is also found at Salonica, where it seems echoed from the great city of the Bosphorus. It exists in the apse of Hagios Pantelemon (Isakié-Djami) and at the Thicherif-Djami, both monuments of the fourteenth century, at Hagia Katerina (Yacoub-Pacha-Djami) of the end of the twelfth century, at Ikicherif-Djami of the twelfth century, at Hagii Apostoli (Soauk-son-Djami) of the end of the twelfth century, and at Hagios Elias (Eski Seraï) of the end of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.²

¹ Ebersolt, *Les églises byzantines de Constantinople* (1913).

² Diehl, Le Tourneau, Saladin, *Les monuments chrétiens de Salonique* (Paris, 1918).



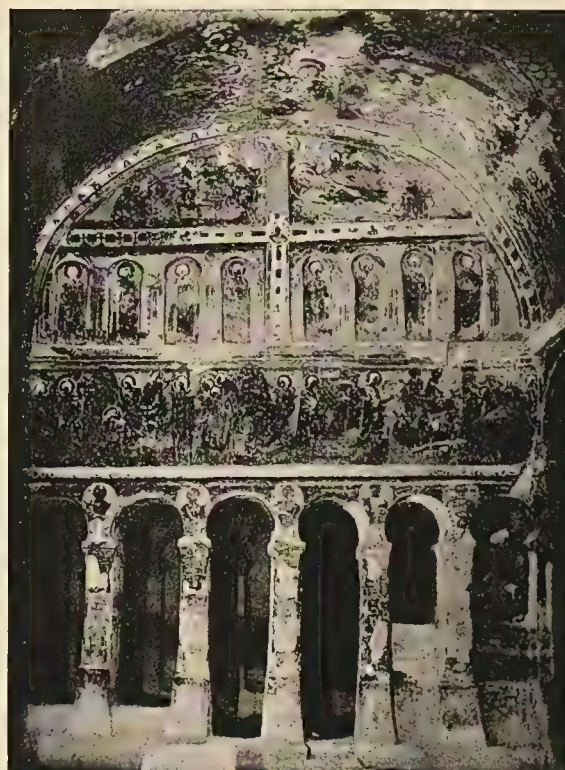
15. Constantinople Museum. Sidamara Sarcophagus



16. Constantinople Museum. Sidamara Sarcophagus



17. Firuzabad Palace. (*L'Art Antique de la Perse*, Dieulafoy)



18. Cappadocia. Grotto of Gereme. (*Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, Rott)



19. Taq-i-Bustan. Capital. (*Die Kunst des Alten Persien*, Sarre)



20. St. Petersburg. Sassanian Plate. (Sarre)



21. Ur. Hall of Justice. (*The Museum Journal*, Vol. III)

Reproduced by courtesy of the Joint Expedition of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and the British Museum

DECORATIVE FORMS—FIRST ROMANESQUE STYLE

From Salonica we see the motive extending throughout Greece. M. Millet has noted it at Hagia Sophia of Ocrida in Macedonia, a church of the second quarter of the eleventh century, and at Mistra in the monastery of Brotochion in the church of the Panagia which was founded before 1311, in the capital of the despots of the Peloponnesus, but which cannot be very much earlier than the fourteenth century.¹

Passing the Bosphorus and turning toward Asia Minor, we find the ancient ruins of Ütschajak, described by Strzygowski, who has compared them with others, analogous in decoration, situated in the interior of the country. These ruins lie isolated northeast of Kirshehr (Asia Minor), and except for a spring of cold water, there is nothing to indicate that there were ever dwellings near. The incomplete plan shows a double church, each part of which was covered by a dome on pendentives. The building is constructed of large bricks measuring 35 by 40 centimetres, laid in beds of mortar 6 centimetres thick; the interior, on the other hand, is constructed of ordinary rubble, reinforced every two metres by wooden chains. Fragments of marble indicate that it was in places richly decorated.²

Miss Bell has found a similar disposition in the church of Summassi Dagħ and in the small cruciform church, No. 44 of Bin Bir Kilissé.³ The same type occurs on the southern shores of Asia Minor, as at Islamkoi, described by Rott;⁴ in Greece; and in southern Italy, at Roccella di Squillace.⁵ Unhappily the dates of these monuments are very uncertain, but it is at all events clear that Constantinople, the great centre, had not only received many Persian forms, but had diffused them broadly.

The peculiar apses of Constantinople crossed the Adriatic and reached Venice. The fact is easily explained. From the seventh century Venice had been the capital of a Byzantine province, at first autonomous, but after the ninth century independent; she was always the great market for Oriental commerce, the door by which Eastern luxury and art entered Europe. S. Marco of Venice, begun about 1063 and substantially finished in 1071, is a reproduction of the church of Hagii Apostoli of Constantinople, and of the recently discovered church of Hagios Ioannis of Ephesus. There are incorporated many details of Persian and Syrian origin, which were perhaps imported already carved. Among these are the shelled niches on the columns of the narthex and those which crown the engaged piers of the campanile. At S. Fosca of Torcello (Fig. 23), which was restored in the twelfth century, we find apses of the type of the Kilissé-Djami or of the Zéïrek-Djami. There is also no question that the art of Constantinople reappears in the cathedral of SS. Maria e Donato of Murano.

¹ Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine*, 1916; *Monuments byzantins de Mistra*, 1910.

² Strzygowski, *Kleinasien*, p. 32.

⁴ Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* (Leipzig, 1908).

³ *The Thousand and One Churches*.

⁵ Strzygowski, *Kleinasien*, p. 221.

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To resume: an exterior decoration of niches is characteristic of the architecture of Constantinople from the time of the Macedonian and Comnenian dynasties (ninth century, and end of the twelfth), and this lives on until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and spreads throughout the Byzantine world. At the period of the Second Golden Age of Byzantine civilization, at the moment of expansion and conquest, it is particularly rich and brilliant.

The churches of Constantinople are built of brick; the decorative forms characteristic of this material adorn their cornices and string-courses.

It should be noticed that the exterior niche is always preceded by an arcade, an unmistakable characteristic, which accompanies it from the time of Ctesiphon onwards. In plan the niche is invariably in several orders, and this peculiarity will enable us to recognize its transformations across the centuries.

The niches of the apses of the basilicas of Constantinople are sometimes walled up, and thus converted into arcades rectangular in plan; in a single apse, like that of Zéïrek-Djami at Constantinople, may be seen side-by-side the niche and the arcade.

It is thus that many sources flow into one single element, and from a single element is derived an extraordinary diversity of forms.

Byzantine niches are always in two stories. In seeking the reason of this, we remember the similar division in the apses of Armenia, Macedonia, the Asturias, and also the two-storied porticos which decorated the apses of Syria (Figs. 6, 8) and the many stories of the façades of Sassanian palaces (Figs. 11, 17).

IV

The niches of Byzantine structures of the ninth and tenth centuries are echoed in the Occident. The centre at which they are received and whence they radiate is Milan, the great liturgical head of northern Italy. The most ancient examples of the niche preserved to us here is in the church of S. Vincenzo in Prato, of 830 (Fig. 25), and in the neighborhood of Milan, at the church of Agliate, of 875 (Fig. 24). Here these decorative motives seem to return to primitive rudeness; later they reappear in the apses of several churches, among them that of S. Ambrogio, of 940; and their use continues during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The construction of these ornaments, although they are executed in the same material as at Constantinople, has changed. The horizontal section of a frieze of Milanese niches will give a rectangular form (Fig. 12 A), while at Constantinople the section of the niches is rounded, the niches being preceded by an arcade (Fig. 12 B).



24. Agliate (Porter phot.)



22. Constantinople. Gul-Djami. (Porter phot.)



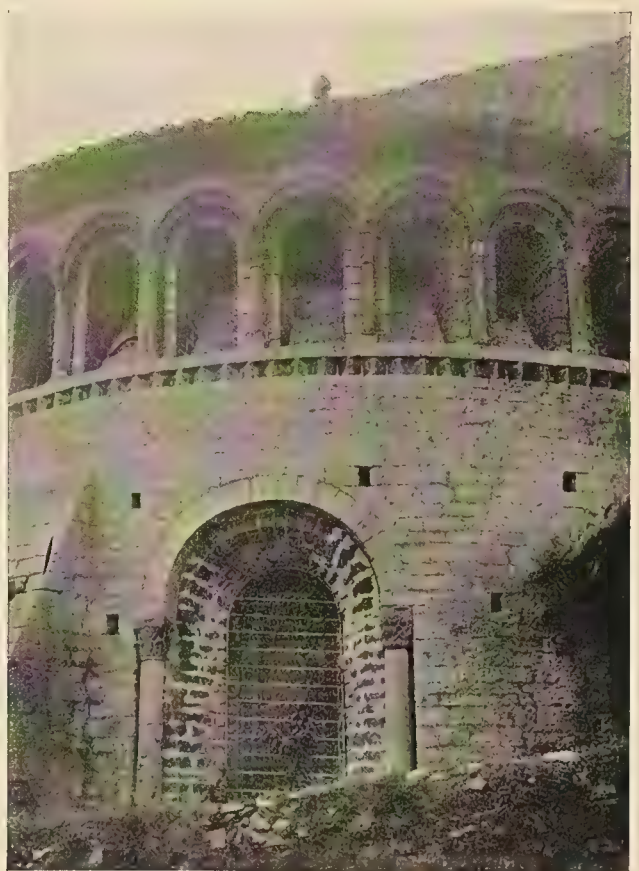
23. Venice. Torcello. S. Fosca



25. Milan. S. Vincenzo in Prato. (Hamann phot.)



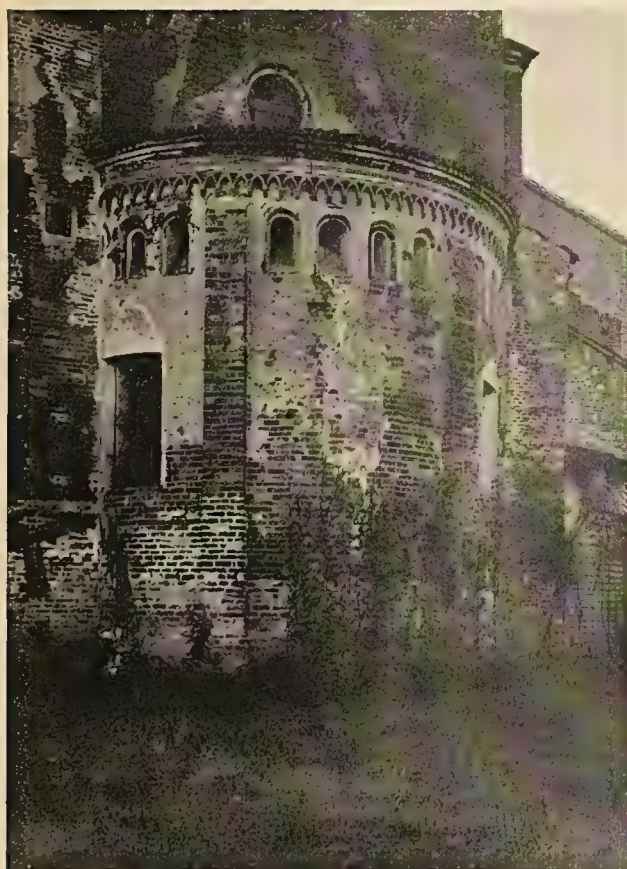
26. Aime. St.-Martin. (Commission des Monuments
Historiques de la France phot.)



27. St.-Guillaume-le-Désert.
(Porter phot.)



30. Cardona. (Mas phot.)



28. Lodi Vecchio. S. Bassiano. (Porter phot.)



29. Cemma di Capodaponte. (Porter phot.)

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In the general composition, the superposition of two stories has disappeared (Fig. 24), and of the double row of niches there remains only the upper. The ancient tradition is revived only after a new evolution, accomplished in the second Romanesque period. On the other hand there appears an old element, clearly visible at Ctesiphon and in Syria (Figs. 6, 8) — the vertical division into bays by means of pilaster-strips.

The decoration of the apses of Milan is not that of the apses of Constantinople, but a simplification; however, in the simplification there remains something characteristic and of very ancient origin.

The Lombard niche or blind window is the first element of this Eastern original, which spreads toward the west of the Mediterranean, translated into small masonry; to France, where St.-Martin-d'Aime (Fig. 26) is the most ancient type and precedes that of Quarante and of St.-Guillaume-le-Désert in Languedoc; to Liguria and the mountainous parts of Lombardy, and to the churches of Catalonia.

Let us see how the evolution may have come about. It must not be forgotten that niches placed in the upper part of an apse have a structural purpose; they lighten the weight of the haunch of the half-dome.

If we place in the upper part of the apse blind windows in several orders of the Byzantine type, we shall obtain something like what is shown in Fig. 13 A. This is not actually found at Milan, but echoes of it exist in the cornice of the baptistery at Novara (800), of the apse of Lodi Vecchio (consecrated in 1050), and in the central apse of Cemmo, 1110 (Fig. 29). If we substitute for the central pillar A, its original Persian form, the column, we shall obtain the disposition shown at B in the plan, and which is that of the apses of S. Michele of Nonantola (founded in the ninth century), and which reappears later at St.-Guillaume-le-Désert (Fig. 27).

This form underwent two simplifications. One consists in the suppression of the exterior order (Fig. 13 C), the other in substituting for this order a corbel, and then bringing the two arches together until they touch (Fig. 13 D). The first is found at Agliate (Fig. 24) reduced to a maximum of simplicity. The upper part of the apse of S. Babila of Milan has been restored on this model (Fig. 24), and the same type of cornice is found in Savoy at St.-Martin-d'Aime (Fig. 26). It has been observed also at Hagia Sophia of Ocrida in Macedonia of the second quarter of the eleventh century, and at Mistra.¹ The second, which is abundant in Milan, spreads throughout Lombardy, and reigns exclusively in Catalonia.

In Catalonia, where archaisms abound, the most ancient churches showing these characteristics are Sant Pere de Casserres (Fig. 32), consecrated in 1006, Ripoll (Fig. 31), consecrated in 1032, Cardona (Fig. 30), begun after

¹ Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine. Monuments byzantins de Mistra.*

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1019 and consecrated in 1040, and Palau-ça-bardara (Fig. 33). They have only two blind windows between every two pilaster-strips, the central pilaster-strip being replaced by a corbel. Thus is repeated in the eleventh century a motive found in the churches of Syria of the fifth and sixth centuries (Figs. 6, 8), and in the churches of Ravenna of the ninth and tenth centuries (Figs. 3, 4).

The form originally constructed in brick has been translated into stone in travelling from Milan to the Alps and the Pyrenees, but it still preserves the cachet of the original material. At Milan the exterior arcade preceding the niche is built of bricks laid flat, an old Roman tradition and an ancient Sassanian construction, as we know from the interior niches of the palace of Ctesiphon; now in the churches constructed of masonry, this arch is made of stones thin as a brick, slate or quartz, or sometimes of pieces of brick, even in cases when the rest of the church is entirely of stone (Fig. 13).

The motive, structural in origin, about the middle of the eleventh century became decorative, evolving into the cornices of little blind windows which we must presently study.

Galleries of blind niches do not spread to the north beyond Savoy (St.-Martin-d'Aime) and the adjoining cantons of Switzerland (Anfoldigen)¹ and Spier.² That fact indicates how slowly the first Romanesque style advanced from the South to the North.

Side by side with the apses decorated with niches, there are apses and walls ornamented with great blind arches. In Catalonia this type is rare (Sant Pons de Corbera, Elna). In northern Italy Kingsley Porter has cited examples belonging to the first Romanesque period, at Sta. Maria de la Caccia at Pavia, in the exterior walls of the churches of Spignò (991), S. Pietro in Valle, S. Vincenzo di Galliano (1007), S. Giovanni at Vicolo Marchese (1008), and so forth.

The Lombard arches are usually constructed differently from those of Ravenna; the latter have perpendicular joints in the archivolt, the former, bricks laid flat.³

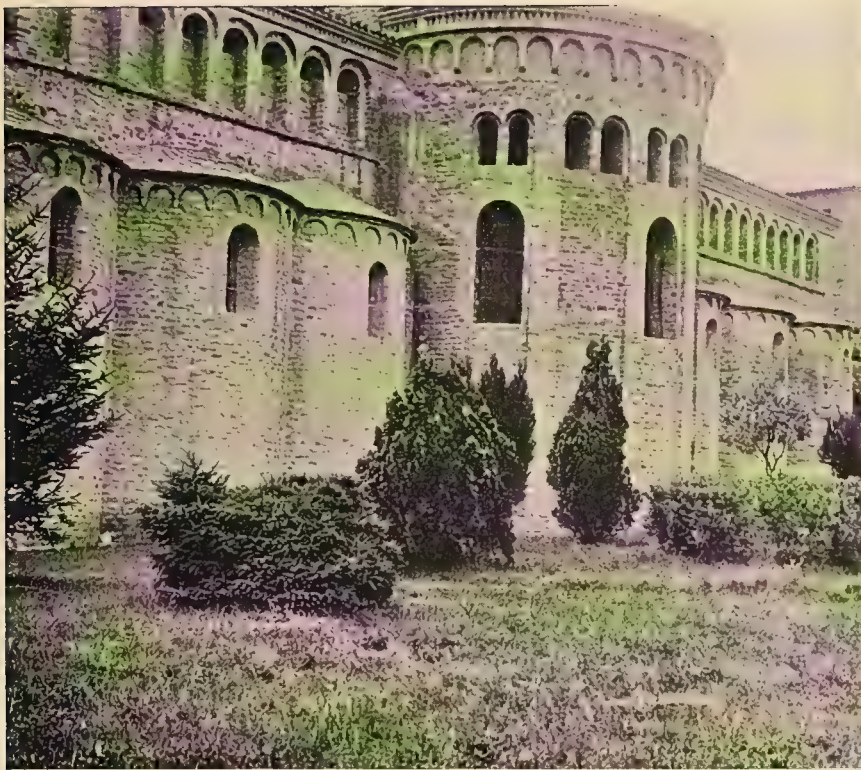
The documentary evidence is insufficient to establish a chronology, which in its turn might form the bases of an explanation of the survival in the Occident of decorative forms of the churches of the fifth and sixth centuries.

We observe that, just as the galleries of blind windows of the apses of Lombardy and France and Catalonia correspond to the niches of the upper story of the apses of Constantinople, so the blind arches are a translation of the lower story of the same apses.

¹ Rodt, *Bernische Kirchen* (Berne, 1912), p. 1912.

² Baehler, *Die Kirche von Spier — Berner Kunstdenkmäler*, (1906), vol. III.

³ Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. I, pp. 225 seq.



31. Ripoll. (Mas phot.)



32. Sant Pere de Casseres. (*L'Arquitectura Romanica a Catalunya*. Puig y Cadafalch)



33. Palau-ça-bardera





34. Sta. Maria Sterri d'Aneu. (Mas phot.)



35. S. Quirse de Culera. (Mas phot.)

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Soon, instead of blind windows or arcades, there appear in the cornices arches coupled between two pilaster-strips. Throughout the entire geographical range of the first Romanesque, this is the primitive form of the cornice called Lombard.¹ How did the motive originate? The arches which decorate Lombard apses and walls have the disposition shown in Fig. 14 left, and this changes, not into the form Fig. 14 right, but into that shown in Fig. 13 E, the arches approaching just as in the friezes of blind windows (Fig. 13 D).

It may be, as Kingsley Porter supposed, that the form originated in walling up blind windows of the type Fig. 13 D.

We may also consider the hypothesis of a direct imitation of the arcades of the side walls of the basilicas of eastern Italy, Ravenna (Figs. 3, 4), Bagnacavallo, Trento.

Let us remember that at Ravenna, the old style continues, as Gerola has pointed out, during the ninth and tenth centuries in numerous basilicas that preserve various archaic characteristics. They show the peculiarity that the lateral walls of the nave are ornamented with arched corbel-tables grouped two and two and resting on pilaster-strips (Figs. 3, 4). The motive was essentially the same as in the west of Italy. Where did it originate? The churches of eastern Italy represent in their plan an earlier moment in the evolution. We have not yet a chronology sufficiently precise to solve the question. Between Lombardy and Ravenna there is no obstacle to prevent communication; a great plain extends from the Alps to the Adriatic, crossed by the ancient Via Emilia. Thus cornices that originated in Constantinople might have been replaced by arched corbel-tables, grouped two and two, from Ravenna.

There are resemblances between the oldest arched cornices of the West (Figs. 24, 25) and those of the churches of the Adriatic (Figs. 3, 4). There are also two differences: the system of construction and the placing. At Ravenna the lateral walls of the nave are decorated (Figs. 3, 5), while the walls of the apse remain bare; in the West, in the early Romanesque churches, the apses are decorated, while the lateral walls remain unadorned (Figs. 32, 33, 34, 35).

Later the number of little arches placed between the pilaster-strips is increased, and even bands of little blind niches are used as friezes to mark the cornices and salient lines of buildings; the motive thus becomes purely ornamental. It is in this phase that it spread over a great part of Europe (Figs. 36, 37, 38, 39).

Among arched corbel-tables should be noticed a group which has preserved a section with slightly projecting second order, like those found in Syria in the lintels of doorways. These are a degeneration of the Byzantine niches,

¹ Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. I, p. 229.

DECORATIVE FORMS—FIRST ROMANESQUE STYLE

found also in the blind windows of the Occident. The earliest example cited by Kingsley Porter is the cathedral of Acqui, of about 1067. This form of the motive was then known in Lombardy in the second half of the eleventh century.

In Catalonia it is found only after the period which corresponds to the first Romanesque, and does not appear until the arcades constructed of dressed stone have been converted into arcuated lintels. The oldest examples that we can cite are in the apses of Sant Climent de Tahull (Fig. 40) consecrated in 1123, and in analogous monuments, like Bosost in the Val d'Aran, the exterior of the cupola of Sant Nicholau at Gerona, and in churches of the thirteenth century, like Agramunt.

If this form were found earlier, it would be an argument in favor of the transformation of blind windows into arched corbel-tables. The argument could be strengthened by studying the friezes of little blind windows which adorn a group of Catalan churches like Tabérnolas and Vilalleons (Fig. 41). Here the depth of the blind window is diminished, and the cornice approaches the type of the Lombard arched corbel-table.

The two stories of niches which adorn Byzantine apses are rarely reproduced in Occidental apses of the first Romanesque period. I do not know of a single one in Catalonia, France, or Switzerland. Kingsley Porter reproduces some in Lombardy — Sts. Vincenzo e Fortunato of Vicenza which he dates 1030,¹ but which, because of the character of its masonry may be later; in the Abruzzi there is one at Sta. Maria Maggiore of Pianello,² and in the Rhineland the great apse of Trèves.³

In the twelfth century the motive appears more frequently. Sta. Maria of Bergamo and the cathedral of Parma⁴ offer examples of a lower story of arcades surmounted by an upper gallery of niches. In other apses the motive is preserved, but the lower arcades are transformed into arched corbel-tables supported at their extremities by pilaster-strips, as at S. Crisofo of Zara⁵ in Dalmatia, and in the absidiole of Sta. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo. At S. Fidele of Como and S. Lorenzo of Cremona⁶ the lower story has lines of little arcades; at S. Abbondio of Como, moldings.⁷ There is thus a return to primitive forms. This is not to be wondered at. The tradition of a double story of niches still continued at Constantinople; the influence is not the affair of a moment, it continues for centuries, coming as it were in successive waves.

¹ Kingsley Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 231, no. 4.

² Poggi, *Arti medievali negli Abruzzi, Secs. XIII e XIV*, Pl. 78.

³ Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, (Leipzig), 1921, Pl. 178.

⁴ Rivoira, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Figs. 309, 335.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Fig. 307. Kingsley Porter, *op. cit.*, Pl. 23, no. 2.

⁶ Rivoira, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Fig. 333. Kingsley Porter, *op. cit.*, Pl. 86, Figs. 1, 3.

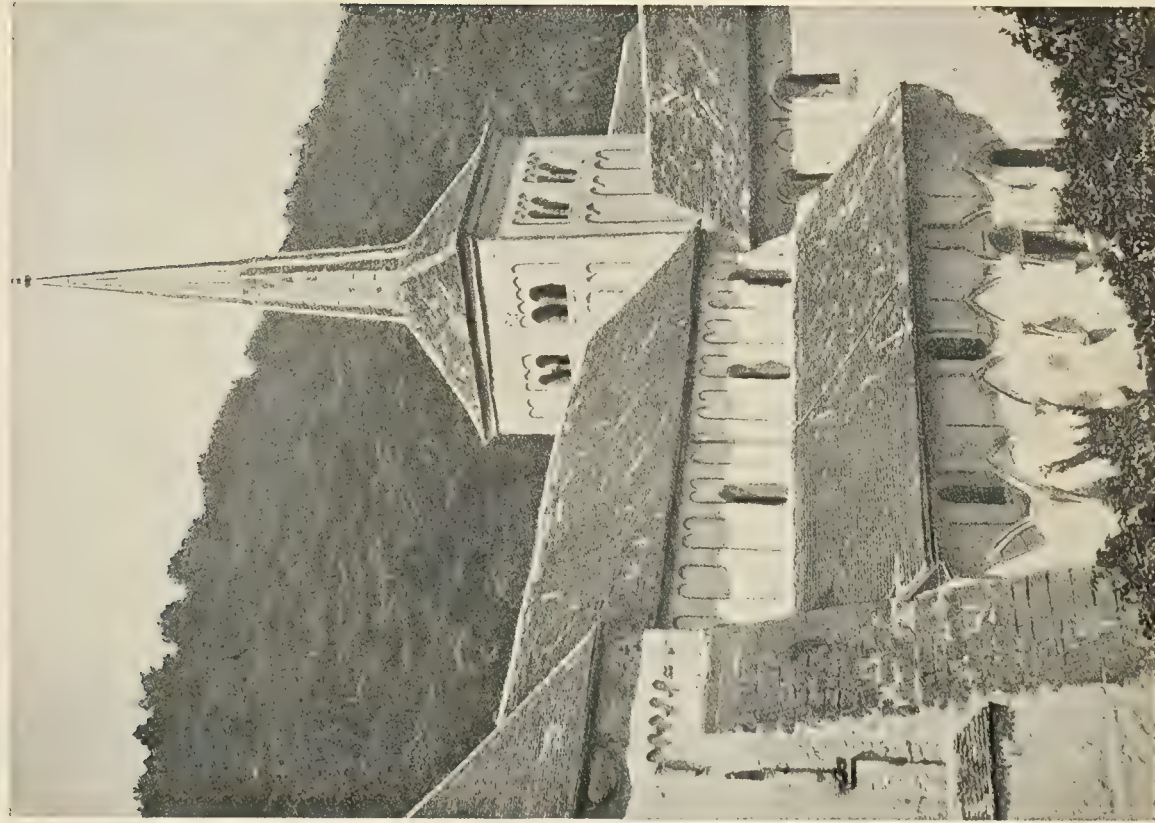
⁷ Rivoira, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Fig. 395.



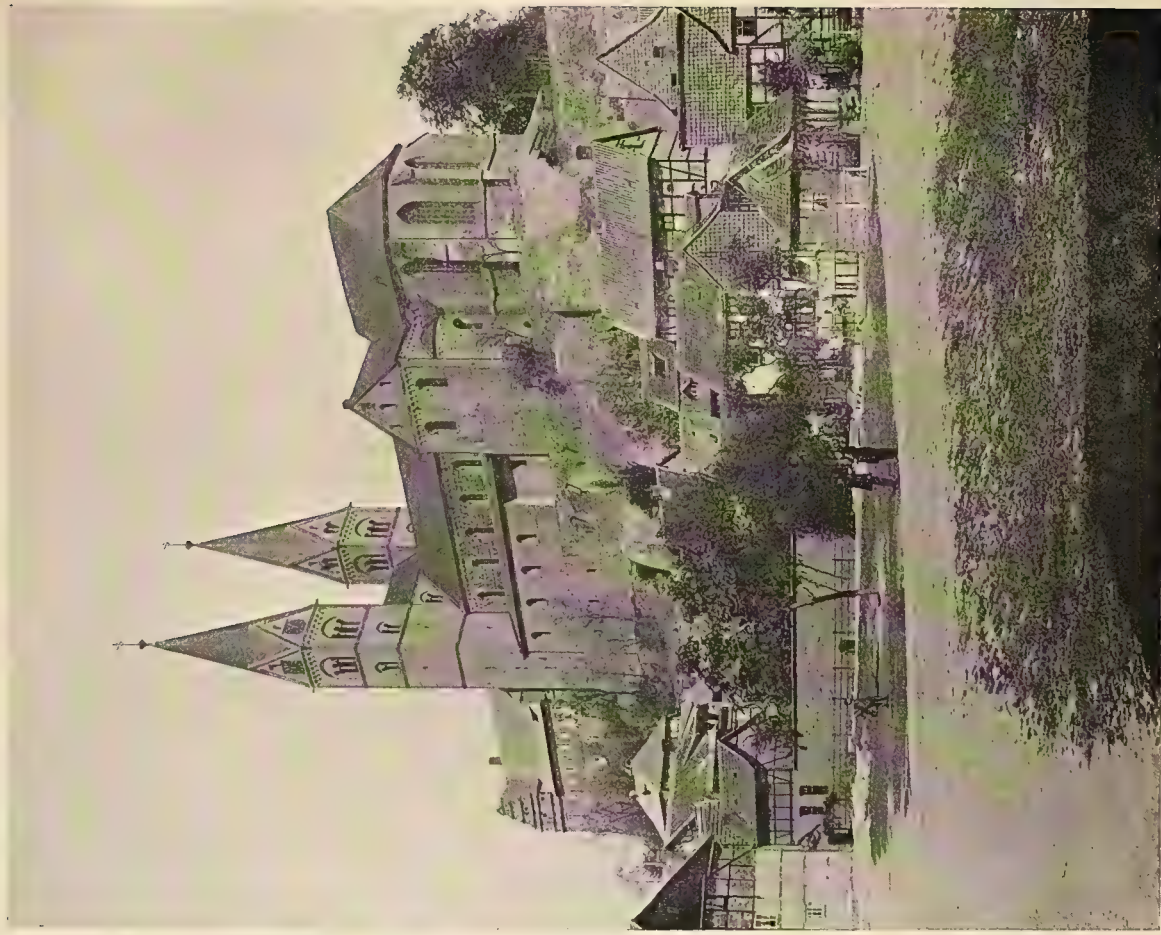
36. Châtillon-sur-Seine. (Les Archives Photographiques d'Art et d'Histoire Phot.)



37. St.-Hymetière. (Les Archives Photographiques d'Art et d'Histoire Phot.)



38. Romainmôtier. (*Indicateur d'Antiquités Suisses*, 1903-06)



39. Quedlinburg. (Stoedtner phot.)

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Little by little the old constructive element became an ornamental motive. During this transformation in the second half of the eleventh century ancient and distant phases were repeated.

V

Let us weigh the significance of these facts.

An early appearance of the motives and ornaments that we are studying, on the shores of the Adriatic in the fifth and sixth centuries; survival in buildings showing archaic characteristics until an uncertain date in the ninth or tenth century; while the buildings of Lombardy, France, and Catalonia that we know between the sixth and the ninth century show no trace of these elements.

In Cappadocia and Armenia are what seem to be distant and unassimilated echoes. In the grottoes of Cappadocia, excavated in the rock, copies of churches built in other regions, constructed of brick or of stone, and adorned with friezes, are simulated sculptured arcades which must be copied from arcades actually constructed of small masonry or brick. In Armenia there are friezes of little arches which have lost all constructive meaning.

The motive in Syria is of two types: one, found on the arches of triumph of the apses and the lintels of the portals, is like the ornament in Armenia, that is to say, arcades which have degenerated into ornamental motives; the other, found on the exterior of the apses, a degeneration of Hellenistic forms.

The influence seems to come directly from Sassanian Persia to Constantinople, from Constantinople to Milan, and from Lombardy to the west of Europe. Possibly also the current from Ravenna influenced the art of the Occident.

We are in the presence of phenomena of baroque-ism which took place in motives of a different type, but which are perfectly analogous to those which the classic orders underwent at Rome and in Italy at the time of the Renaissance.

We are also in the presence of another phenomenon — that of there having taken place in distant regions and at different times, with extraordinary parallelism, the complete transformation of an architectonic motive. The lintel becomes a niche, the niche an arcade, the arcade is doubled, and each pair is supported by pilaster-strips at the extremities and a corbel in the middle; finally, the motive degenerates into a row of little decorative arches, and its primitive constructive significance is forgotten.

We have also seen the monolithic niche and that constructed of large blocks transform themselves into arcades built of small masonry; later, in the twelfth century, we have seen the arcades revert to an arcuated lintel, and

DECORATIVE FORMS—FIRST ROMANESQUE STYLE

finally to a plain lintel, thus closing the cycle of its morphological transformations.

After a long time, Romanesque architecture returned to ashlar masonry, and accomplished during the twelfth century the same transformations that Sassanian brick construction underwent at Spalato in Roman monuments, and in the neighborhood of Antioch in primitive Christian monuments.

All gives reason to believe that the creation of forms is governed by laws which are unknown, but by laws which are constant, and which govern human imagination; and these laws are the creators of artistic forms in spite of the conscience-free liberty with which the artist believes that he works.

VI

The geographical range of an architectonic motive, and its relationship with primitive forms, mark unmistakably its history. The genesis and transformations of the simple motive we have studied are the architectonic symbol of the last days of an epic, that of the struggle of the Hellenic Mediterranean with Asia of the Tigris and Euphrates; of this epic the strife of Athens and of the Achaemenian kings is an early canto; that of the Parthians and Sassanians with the Romans a later one; that of the Byzantine Empire with the Turk the epilogue.

To see how it was possible that the shell niche invented to relieve the monotony of a plain wall, and lighten its mass, could undermine and destroy the horizontal lines of the entablature of the Greek portico, it is necessary to remember the character of the Persian Empire, so full of mystic sumptuousness.

In Persia, the intermediary between India, China, and the Mediterranean, was the market for perfumes and aromatic spices; in Persia were sold silks of unknown colors surpassing the purple; in Persia were rugs woven with a richness of design undreamed of.

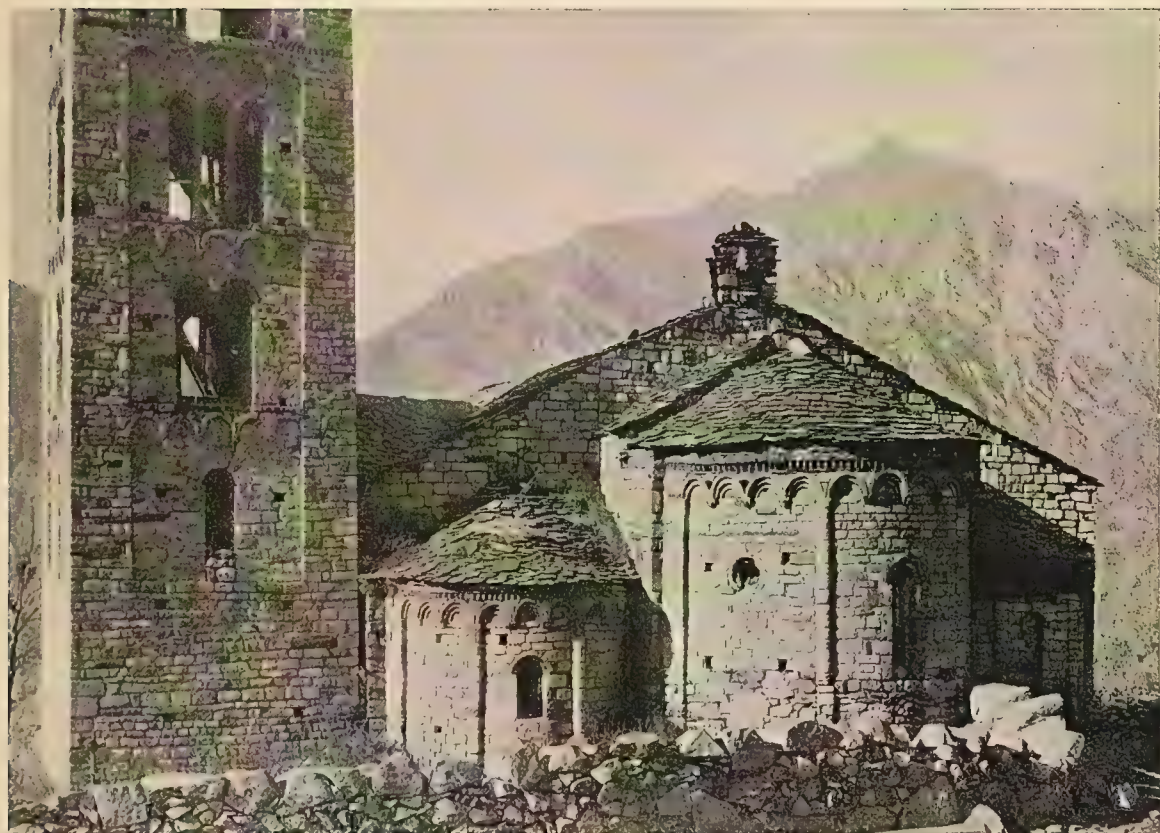
By the same commercial routes which brought to Europe the riches of the mysterious Orient, there came first to Caesarea and Antioch, then to Constantinople and to Milan, Marseilles, and Arles, to Narbonne and to Barcelona, the forms of a regenerating art.

The ancient roads are still those of to-day; they are determined by the ports, the mountain-passes, the rivers that are navigable, the valleys of which can be followed, and in the desert by the oases and wells.

The road between Ekbatana and Babylon was the same as that which connected Ctesiphon with Persepolis and to-day leads from Bagdad to Teheran. The port of Behistum, decorated with ancient reliefs recalling the days when the Achaemenians held the high plateaux of Media and Chaldaea,

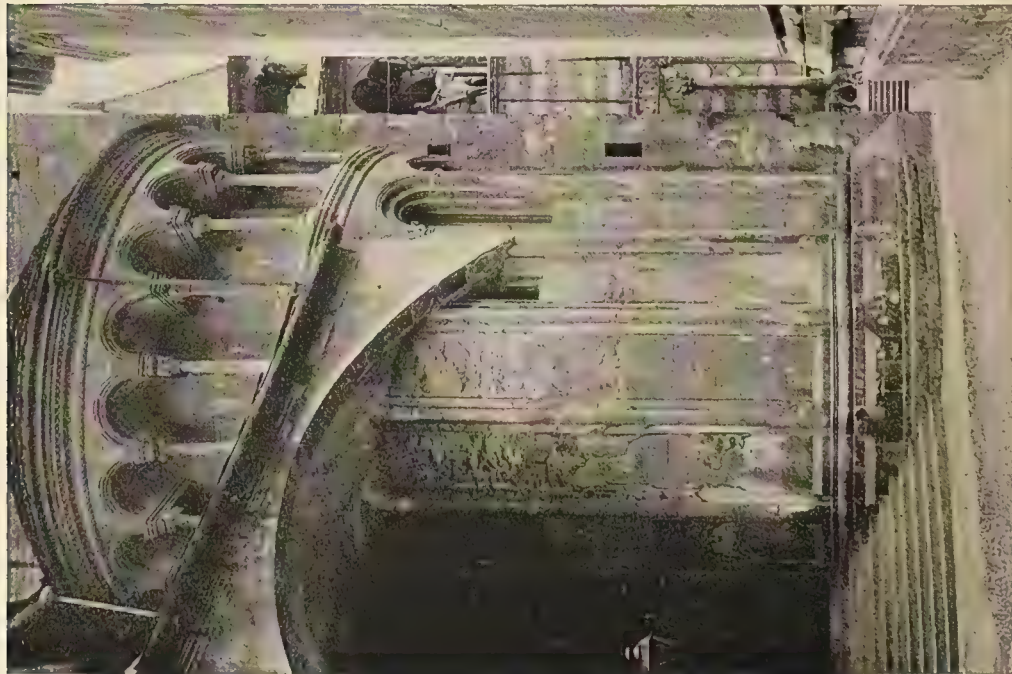


41. Tabérnolas. (Mas phot.)

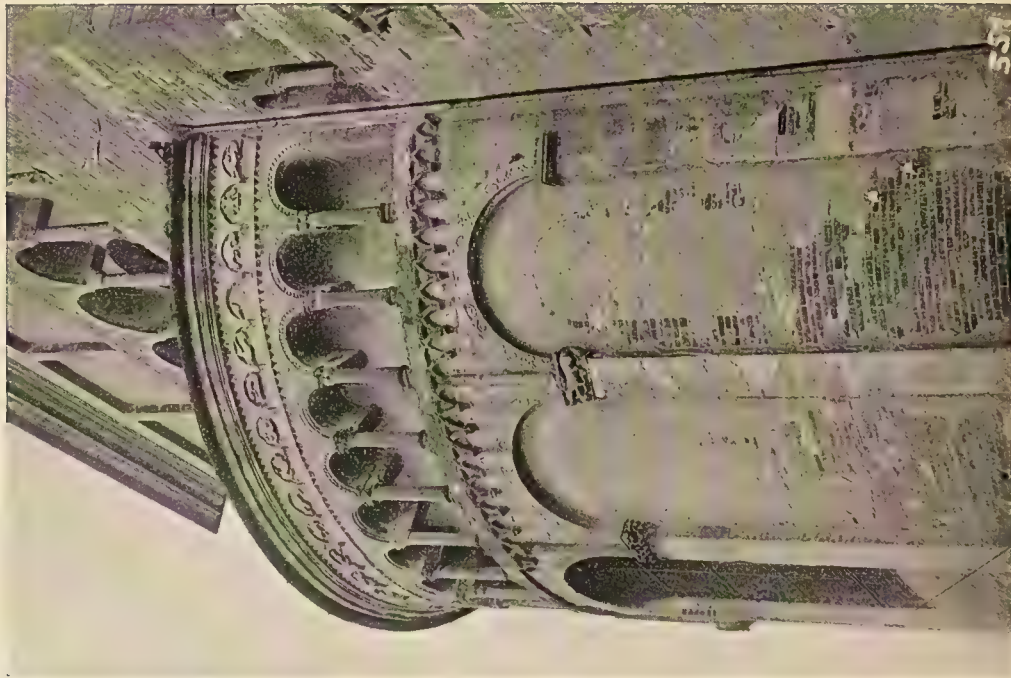


40. Tahull. St. Climent. (Mas phot.)





42. Bergamo. Sta. Maria Maggiore. (Porter phot.)



43. Parma. Duomo. (Hamann phot.)

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has been altered, but has not moved; from Bagdad to Damascus the automobiles cross the desert by the old road of Palmyra used in the times of Zenobia.

The Euphrates leads to the north, and made it possible to cross the Taurus and reach Armenia, whence branched off through the passes of Cilicia the routes to the centre of Asia Minor or to Aleppo and Antioch.

Damascus was the destination of the caravans which came from Arabia, as Seleucia was that of those which came from India or China across Persia. The road from Damascus to the sea crossed Antelebanon and Lebanon, and came out at Beirût, ancient Beryte, near Sidon and Tyre, the ports most used in ancient times.

Persia also had its natural communication with Egypt and the Mussulman world, and the Mediterranean as well; one road led to the north, connecting the Orient with the Christian countries, the other to the south, to the Mohammedan states.

The old routes of the caravans, of armies, over which passed an unending stream of mules and Beduin porters, are clearly marked by the traces of the Roman roads. Their ruins form the landmarks of these ancient currents of civilization, and show us the path followed by artistic inspiration.

The great centres of civilization dammed up these Oriental currents, and bear the imprint of their influence. First of all, Rome, where as early as the time of the Antonines the art of the great builders of domes was practised; then Ravenna, the capital in which the Empire of the West died. In Syria, the centre of the Christian religion, in the fifth and sixth centuries full of piety, and also of the passions which found expression in the great heresies, these currents left their mark at Antioch, Gaza, and Beryte.

Asia Minor, as regards the aspect of exterior decoration which we have been studying, has preserved for us the curious churches of Cappadocia, and the distant echoes of Armenia. The Hellenistic centres of the coast were perhaps too strong to receive the influence of the Orient in this ornamental aspect, and those of the interior not powerful enough to diffuse this particular motive, as they were always far removed, and in this respect did not perhaps influence directly the distant Occident.

The current impregnated by the art of the Orient flows from the ancient Mesopotamian centres and reaches Constantinople in the Second Golden Age of Byzantine culture. From Constantinople it comes to Milan, from Milan to Lombardy and Catalonia; and from Catalonia to southern France. It penetrates to the north from southern France, crosses the Alps from Italy, and reaches Burgundy; then it crosses the Rhine, and passes on to the Rhenish school the old forms of the first Romanesque period.

AN EIGHTH-CENTURY STATUE FROM TUN HUANG
WITH CHINESE AND JAPANESE PARALLELS

AN EIGHTH-CENTURY STATUE FROM TUN HUANG WITH CHINESE AND JAPANESE PARALLELS

By LANGDON WARNER

THE delicate little figure here illustrated was presented to the Fogg Museum expedition in January, 1925, by the priest in charge of the northeastern group of the cave chapels of Tun Huang in Kansu Province. It is made of nothing more inspiring than the mud of that locality, which has almost the tenacity of true clay. But it was once gay with color and with gold and the unnamed sculptor was a master in his craft. Its importance is immeasurably increased in our eyes by the fact that, among the thousands of Chinese statues in Europe and America, this is one of a bare half-dozen which can be traced to their definite sources.

It is superfluous in this place to rehearse the dramatic story ¹ of the rediscovery of those chapels for Western scholarship by Sir Aurel Stein, or of the amazing harvest of precious manuscripts brought back by him and by the learned Professor Paul Pelliot of the Collège de France from that bricked-up library in the caves. Professor Pelliot ² has, in addition to the deciphering of Chinese and other Asiatic texts, published six volumes of plates ³ illustrating the wall paintings of these chapels, and we are anxiously awaiting the appearance of the seventh volume, which is further to elucidate the contemporary inscriptions by which they may be dated accurately.

Other scholars have begun to digest and make use of the material brought back and, from this time on, no treatment of early Chinese art can be attempted without reference to the Tun Huang types made available by these distinguished gentlemen. In spite of the fact that all the notes of the various savants are not yet available, it is entirely proper to present our figure for consideration, and to draw a few rather obvious conclusions from it, with the understanding that another year or two will throw more light on the subject.

The collections salvaged from the rapid ruin which is going on at Tun Huang have proved to be a veritable mine for historians, epigraphists, scholars of comparative religion, language students, and Orientalists in general. But we know of little sculpture having been retrieved except the example here reproduced, an insignificant fragment of an earlier period which came from the wall of chapel number 111 A, ⁴ and two small clay figures brought

¹ Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia*.

² *Bulletin Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, p. 191; *Musée Guimet, Conférences*, tome 41; *Petrucchi*, etc., etc.

³ Paul Pelliot, *Toueng Huang*.

⁴ Professor Pelliot's number.

AN EIGHTH-CENTURY STATUE FROM TUN HUANG

back by the Hongwanji expedition and illustrated by Omura, pls. 758, 759. Many statues remain in that place, but they are for most part in the form of brittle clay, molded about cores of solid stone still fast to the mother rock. These and the few separate figures which can be seen in Professor Pelliot's illustrations have suffered largely from the ill-judged piety of the local plasterer and painter.

Two chapels from the five hundred odd which are there do, however, contain practically untouched statues of the T'ang period — the color still clear and the contours still innocent of reconstruction. It was from one of these that the priest Wang permitted me to rescue the little statue now in Cambridge. Whatever compunction I felt at the moment for separating it from its lovely companions in the dim light of the cliff by the Turkestan border, we have been amply justified by its arrival in perfect condition at the Fogg Museum. It is set up here for all to admire, protected alike from deliberate vandalism and from zealous piety.

After the visits of Sir Aurel Stein and Professor Pelliot to Tun Huang, a detachment of Russian Cossacks, who had been hounded across nearly two thousand miles of steppes and deserts and mountain ranges by their fellow countrymen, fell into the hands of the Chinese frontier guard and were herded together in the Tung Huang chapels. There they remained, four hundred strong, for several months. It was not to be expected that these poor cavalrymen would have more respect for the works of an alien race and an abhorred religion than do the descendants of those masters who, in all reverence, painted the holy pictures and made the statues. The regimental chaplain moved into one of the largest and best-preserved caves. Such idols as had stood inviolate since the tenth century were toppled from the daïs. Brackets to hold the blessed candles were hammered through the wall paintings, and the rites of the Orthodox Church were solemnly performed where Hiuen Hsiang had long ago conned the holy books which he had fetched across that two years' trail from the very birthplace of the Buddha.

Before the Cossack prisoners and their devastating stay, there had been at least three Mohammedan uprisings which had left their scars on those half-forgotten walls.¹ Where whole figures were not erased and entire groups of statuary thrown down, spears and later bullets had gouged the eyes and wrecked the faces of the gods. But even such deliberate destruction has done less harm in the long run than the incessant scratching and picking of idle finger-nails, and the rough scrub from innumerable sheepskin-clad shoulders of the Mongols and the Central Asians and the Chinese, who for centuries

¹ Professor Pelliot (*Académ. des Inscript. et Belles-Lettres*, 1910) truly remarks that the grottoes have escaped systematic destruction in the Mohammedan uprisings. The scarred eyes and faces do in many cases, however, show that random followers of Islam have been at work.

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1. Fogg Art Museum. Statue



2. Fogg Art Museum. Statue



3. Clay Statue of Monju in Horyuji Pagoda. A.D. 711

AN EIGHTH-CENTURY STATUE FROM TUN HUANG

have dropped from their camels by the ford at the cliff foot, or goaded their weary ponies up the slope and tossed down their saddle-bags for a night under shelter. No doubt they occasionally entered to pray, but it is equally certain that they remained to scratch and to rub and to desecrate the lovely things at which they gaped.

Our statue owes its preservation to the fact that it stood removed from the main hall on a daïs some three feet high, from which its own pedestal raised it an additional two feet. Except for the purpose of deliberate wrecking, not one person in a century would take the pains to clamber on the daïs.

When the figure was lifted from the pedestal, it was found that a piece of wood extended vertically through it for support, leaving some eight inches thrust into the pedestal top. Judging by analogy of the wrecks of other statues at Tun Huang, this spike runs through the body and up into the head, and other lighter sticks are tied to it as armatures for the limbs. Bundles of reeds are the cores of the long scarfs which hang free from the shoulders.

Over the finished clay surface was laid a white wash, presumably of lime, on parts of which the brush marks are still visible. On this the water colors and the gold were spread. Though we still lack the chemical analyses of the pigments, it is significant that they appear to be precisely those found on the wall paintings of the chapel in which this statue was standing, and of other chapels at Tun Huang which are definitely established to have been painted during the T'ang period.¹ The left side of the face (the side turned toward the wall and less exposed) is of ivory white, like the surface below the brownish red which seems to have covered the body. The fact that some of this white is obviously smeared over the brown at the roots of the hair suggests that it may be a later addition, but the minute particles which have chipped off leave no remains of a former layer of color below, and our conclusion at the present time is that we have the original decoration in its original state. Careful study since the statue arrived in Cambridge has convinced us of the fact that, whatever may prove true of small bits of superficial coloring (and I do not suspect any of them of being added at a later period), the actual shape has never suffered restoration either in its main lines or in its smallest detail. The simpler surfaces of the back and breast and the fair oval cheeks retain the subtlety of plane melting with plane which no meddler, however skilful, could preserve on another man's original clay. So too in its elaborations, for the long necklace (Figs. 1 and 2), with the pendant hanging below the waist (Fig. 6), the pectoral half-hidden by the clasped hands, the armlets and crisp coils of high-piled hair, are all finely cut in the soft clay and have lost no whit of their values. Even my short ten

¹ I have Professor Pelliot's permission to quote his decided opinion that the wall paintings of this chapel date from the eighth century.

AN EIGHTH-CENTURY STATUE FROM TUN HUANG

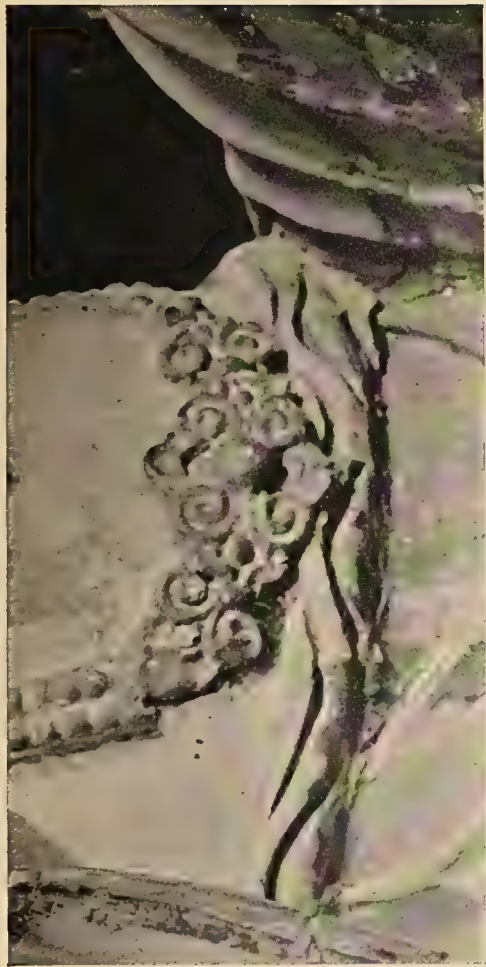
days' stay among the bungling restorations of the Tun Huang image-makers, both of this age and of the centuries past, convinced me that their work can be easily detected.

So much for the mechanical condition and its bearing on the question. A far more appealing suggestion of period and a more immediately convincing proof of original condition is the masterly combination of pure representation and of decorative value in the curves of the skirt. On one leg the cloth droops down, strained over the raised knee. On the other the curves lie loose along the thigh and calf, but close enough to disclose the form beneath and to give a sense of the little heel on which the youth half sits. Constant familiarity with this slight form never quite disabuses the Western mind of the idea of femininity in connection with it. The grace of the willowy erect back has more of the girl than of the lad, and perhaps, too, the whorls of coiled hair make us think it female in spite of the tiny moustache. But, as a matter of fact, such a Buddhist attendant is quite sexless, even though it may be no true Bodhisattva to which a name can be attributed.

There are certain works of art, and great ones among them, which demand scrutiny, study, and scholarly comparisons before their rank, or even their genuineness, can be given proper estimate. There is another class, more rare in every land, which flashes complete and accomplished and convincing on the beholder. I venture to put this statue among the latter, and to find here my excuse for the difficulty which I am under in the discussion which I have set myself. If I spare the reader a laboring of details, I shall also so far respect his judgment as to refrain from a panegyric of loose aestheticism.

As to the period to which our figure can be assigned, I had believed that we must content ourselves with a comparatively loose guess based entirely on the impression that it makes on the beholder. I ruled out the Sung period, because all our dated examples from that time show a comparative degeneracy into the calligraphic technique which treats surfaces as the draughtsman must, and tend to lose the solid three-dimensional sense of true modelling. When the gods vouchsafed to the Chinese, from the last half of the tenth century to the middle of the twelfth, that surpassing skill with the brush which marks them off from all other peoples and ages, it was in very justice decreed that sculpture must suffer. Planes and surfaces lost their strength that edges might be elaborated. The bodies and the faces of the deities became comfortably plump. Their eyebrows curved with a round arch instead of the keen spring of T'ang and the Six Dynasties, while the drapery curled, all florid, as if a penman had drawn it. Surely this lean figure, with every plane melting into its neighbors, shows no hint of the complacent Sung fat.

I need not enter into my reasons for rejecting a later possibility than Sung;



6. Fogg Art Museum. Statue. Detail, showing Jewel of Eighth-Century Type



4 and 5. Fogg Art Museum. Statue. Tun Huang Cave with Statue before Removal.
(The Main Deity is omitted, side Groups only are shown)

AN EIGHTH-CENTURY STATUE FROM TUN HUANG

surely we know enough of that end of the story to feel sure of our ground in that direction.

It remained then to find parallels from all possible sources and, by their aid, to determine as near as might be the missing date within the T'ang dynasty. This was attempted as rigorously as possible with all the available material. Only one sculpture (Fig. 7) was used which was not in some way associated with a date — exact or approximate. Obviously this one does not aid us in the present discussion. The result of comparing sculpture of known dates has, I confess, somewhat surprised me. I am compelled to believe our figure more than a century earlier than I at first thought it. But, on analysis, it turned out that there had been no specific facts to substantiate my tentative guess that the middle of the ninth century would prove the best approximation. The obviously contemporary wall paintings of the chapel in which the statue was found are not so late as the tenth century, for the dated scrolls in the British Museum can be taken as types of that work at the dates they bear. And that painting can be compared with sculpture is nowhere and at no time so axiomatic as here at Tun Huang, for those wall paintings seem the very shadows of our figure flattened on the wall, full face or profile, line for line, contour for contour. So greatly was I struck by this that I wondered, as I stood there, if ever before painting had been so wedded with sculpture in any country or age. And I caught myself thinking that here at last was the prime example of the spirit of a culture so adequately expressed as to be equally obvious and recognizable in the two arts. I find myself, then, with the paintings of the tenth century fetched from this very site providing no parallel¹ and, as you will see below, with a convincing array of Chinese and Japanese sculpture of the early eighth century pulling me back to that period.

So much for theory. Our most obvious comparison must, unfortunately, be with a statue which is no more dateable than our own, a stone (Fig. 7) of roughly the same size and precisely the position. It is owned by Grenville L. Winthrop, Esq. (Harvard, '86), of New York, to whose courtesy I am indebted for permission to use the illustration. Such essential and telling details as the angle of the nose and the curve of the eyebrow are close enough to show that we have not been misled by the very obvious parallel in the position of the figure and its silhouette — facts not in themselves particularly significant.

A figure in high relief owned privately² in Japan (Fig. 8) is so closely akin to our subject that I offer it too for consideration, the more so as it is inscribed with an *eranom* and year (Jui'Tsung of T'ang) corresponding to 689 A.D.

¹ Cf. Sir Aurel Stein and Laurence Binyon, *The Thousand Buddhas*.

² Not knowing the name of the present owner, I reproduce it without permission.

AN EIGHTH-CENTURY STATUE FROM TUN HUANG

The interesting series of sculptures¹ brought some years ago by Dr. Hayazaki of Tokyo from the Hia Ta Ssu pagoda inside the south gate of Sian fu, offers a dozen or more striking parallels with our Tun Huang example and the other members of its group. I reproduce here merely a single detail (Fig. 18) from one of the large stelae, a head from the left-hand member of the triptych. This will perhaps be enough to suggest the kinship, even though I omit a figure from the same stone, which is half kneeling as ours is, and the central figure of the trinity, which strongly resembles the main deity of the Tun Huang group from which ours was taken. While chosen entirely for their stylistic resemblance to the statue under discussion, it is of interest that two of this group bear the date 703 (Jui Tsung) and a third 704 A.D. The other dates, if any, are undecipherable.

By far the most convincing and serviceable material for comparison is found, however, neither in China nor in the foreign Chinese collections, but in the Japanese monastery of Horyuji. The base of the five-storied pagoda of this establishment is divided into four compartments, in which, with appropriate backgrounds of mountains, clouds, and rock grottoes, are shown the Paradise of Maitreya (on the south), Buddha's Nirvana (on the north), the colloquy of Yuima and Monju (on the east), and the Partition of the Sacred Relics (on the west).

Although repairs were made on these groups in the fourteenth and again in the seventeenth century, that work is easily distinguishable from the original, and several figures, thanks to their separate construction, were untouched. These statuettes² (the largest is barely two feet high) are the earliest clay figures which have survived in Japan. According to the temple record they were made³ in 711 A.D. Though unbaked, they have held together in remarkable shape, owing to an admixture of mica and fibre with the clay. The color with which they were once covered has, however, left only minute traces.

In style these figures are so perfectly Chinese that one cannot resist the conclusion either that they were imported from China or that continental sculptors were imported to make them. They contain no hint of the native

¹ By one of those mistakes for which Mr. Fenollosa was in no way to blame, these stones are made to appear in his posthumous book, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, as being "in the crypt of the almost vanished temple of Gangoji in Nara." No one knew better than he that Japanese temples do not have crypts and that stone sculpture of the first fifteen centuries after Christ is practically non-existent in Japan. They were found bricked into the walls of the pagoda mentioned above. In the Sui dynasty it was known as Pao Ch'ing Ssu. They show such a family resemblance that the conclusion is inevitable that they were produced in the shop of a single stone-cutter, if not all by the same hand. Some of the group are also published in *An Official Guide to Eastern Asia*, vol. IV, published by the Imp. Jap. Gov't Railways, and in vol. III, pls. 391-397, of Dr. Osvald Sirén's *Chinese Sculpture*; also *Shina, Bijutsu Shi*, by Dr. Omura.

² Cf. *Horyuji Okagami*, vols. II, III, IX, XXIV, XXVIII, XXXIII, and XXXVII; *Japanese Temples and their Treasures*, pl. 223.

³ Installed?



7. Stone Figure owned by G. L. Winthrop, Esq.



8. Chinese Stone Figure dated A.D. 689



AN EIGHTH-CENTURY STATUE FROM TUN HUANG

style which had already become recognizable on the islands. The theory of a foreign origin is all the more tenable when one realizes that the date given in the temple records for their installation is but the year after the permanent settlement of the Imperial court at Nara, when there was a fresh wave of Buddhist enthusiasm and a close connection with the Buddhist Patriarch who was established at Sian fu. The Taikwa "reform" — in fact a mere sinicizing of Japanese institutions and an attempt to graft the manners and rules of the Sian fu court on the Japanese one — had been promulgated but sixty years before.

We know how popular everything Chinese had become at that time. Paris to-day exercises no more complete authority over women's dress than did the T'ang capital over male and female costume. Literature was in Chinese, the Buddhist canon remained in that language for a thousand years after, and sculpture at that time was but a handmaid to religion — Chinese, but with a difference. Though this slight and recognizable native character had indeed sprung up in the Buddhist sculpture of Nara, and the great Yakushiji bronzes which typify it¹ had been cast fourteen years previously, these little clay figures show no hint of it. A bare score of clay figures remain to us from the early years of Japanese Buddhism, while the caves of Tun Huang in China contain the wrecks of hundreds. If there is no actual proof that the groups in the Horyuji pagoda were of Chinese origin, I am inclined to accept the strong probability that they were. And I venture to say that the nicest critic can detect no element of style or technique to suggest a contradictory theory.

The detail from the edge of a well-known stone stele in the Pei Lin at Sian fu in Shensi stands or falls with these other examples as a parallel to our figure. Its date, 736 A.D., is the extreme limit of our immediate group (I do not include the Japanese figures 16 and 17, which are presented to show the changes that occurred on the islands in a bare half-century), but I retain it as much to furnish ammunition to the opponents of my thesis as to bolster my argument. In spite of the obvious variations from the Fogg statue which this shows, I believe that you will detect the resemblances as well, and will agree that it supplies an example of a slightly later date as well as what is, naturally, a different technique.

At the risk of being accused of laboring a point, I have introduced two wood and lacquer heads of undoubted later Japanese origin (Figs. 16 and 17)² which are to be seen to-day in the same monastery of Horyuji, one in the Denpo-do and the other moved from its original stand in the Sankyo-in

¹ Eminent authority to the contrary, I can find no reason to doubt the correctness of Japanese scholarship in considering these triumphs of the bronze caster's art as truly native. We have yet to find anything comparable to them in China.

² Cf. *Horyuji Okagami*, vols. XXVIII and XXXIII.

AN EIGHTH-CENTURY STATUE FROM TUN HUANG

hall to the Kondo. They are in the developed manner of T'ang in Japan — true Tempyo — and must date from the middle of the eighth century. In spite of the difference in manner occasioned by the difference between the wood carver's knife-stroke and the modeller's thumb, these two preserve their T'ang tradition so thoroughly that the Japanese find in them a foreign air. They speak of the *kara hokwan*, "Chinese headdress," and, recognizable though they are as Japanese, native critics feel them barely acclimated to Nara. I include them, however, as much to show the changes of half a century as to trace the obvious parallel with our Chinese clay. It would be an illuminating thing if we were able to show a Chinese figure of that date and to reckon the fifty years of change in the direct line of descent from the Tun Huang figure. I venture a guess that the islanders were the more conservative and, by the end of the period, remained the truer T'ang stylists. Chauvinism on the part of Chinese and Japanese critics, and the eager partisanship of the few foreigners who are interested, have prevented such comparisons in the past. I can hardly be wrong in thinking them worth bringing forward at the present time. Although the attribution of dates by pure stylistic evidence is still in its infancy so far as Chinese sculpture is concerned, such obvious parallels as the foregoing are certainly permissible. To me they appear convincing.

We have chosen twelve examples of sculpture which most resemble the specimen under discussion, rejecting none known to us which are close enough to seem significant. We then find that no less than eight ¹ of these were made between the years 684 A.D. and 715 A.D. — a stretch of thirty-one years. A ninth (Fig. 14) is dated A.D. 736 and another pair (Figs. 16 and 17), introduced as much for their disparity as their likeness, are attributed more loosely by the Japanese to the Tempyo period, from 710 A.D. to 784 A.D. I myself believe that these last two are not later than 740 A.D., but to take up that point would lead us too far afield and necessitate an explanation of the fact that Japanese sculpture is included at all in the discussion of an example found more than two thousand miles from the islands. Let it be sufficient to say that, for the first two centuries after the introduction of Buddhism into Japan, sculpture was directly inspired by Chinese originals and, by the beginning of the eighth century, style lagged a bare thirty years behind the innovations on the continent.² At the same time it is generally conceded that the work of the Japanese sculptors can be distinguished from that of the Chinese, and I do not hesitate to suggest that the group of small clay figures reproduced here (Figs. 3, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 15) were made by Chinese, whether at home or abroad. Happily for the main issue at stake,

¹ Figs. 13 and 15 are definitely attributed by Japanese scholars to the short reign of Gomyo Tenno, 708-715 A.D.

² Cf. Okakura Kakuzo, *Japanese Temples and their Treasures*.



9. Fogg Art Museum. Clay Statue



10. Detail Clay *Bodhisattva*.
Horyuji. Dated A.D. 711



11. Detail Clay *Bodhisattva*.
Horyuji. Dated A.D. 711



12. Detail Clay *Bodhisattva*.
Horyuji. Dated A.D. 711



13. Clay Bonten. Horyuji.
A.D. 708-715



14. Chinese Stone Stele. Rubbing.
A.D. 736



15. Clay Taishaku. Horyuji.
A.D. 708-715



16. Dry Lacquer Seishi. Horyuji.
About A.D. 740



17. Wood Miroku. Horyuji.
About A.D. 740



18. Stone Figure. Hayazaki Col-
lection. From Sianfu. A.D. 703-704

AN EIGHTH-CENTURY STATUE FROM TUN HUANG

their date and their Chinese influence at least cannot be questioned, and they remain significant as parallels of the closest sort to our Tun Huang statue.

It is, therefore, proposed to catalogue our clay figure as of the middle of the eighth century at latest, and we hope that someone may be able to bring forth further evidence to contradict or to substantiate this conclusion. Whatever the ultimate truth may prove to be, this figure will remain as lovely and important as it is to-day, when it must be counted as one of the few great triumphs which have come down to us from the golden and romantic age of T'ang.

VECCHIETTA

VECCHIETTA

BY FREDERICK MORTIMER CLAPP

THE central panel of the Assumption that Vecchietta¹ painted for the cathedral at Pienza, perhaps at the request of Pius II himself, while not an invention, is an achievement that accounts for much of the fascination of Sienese painting during the middle of the fifteenth century.² It is lyrical and charming, naïve and precious. A buoyant ecstasy of chiming rhythms pervades it and a sound of delicate instruments. On the bright air, the Virgin³ rises in a glistening robe of gauzy brocade, expectant, and yet unsurprised, as she floats upward in a *mandorla* of cherubs' feathers. Monumental Saints and Popes stand in the wings. Their eyes seem unconscious of the miracle, but its significance falls like light across their meditation (Figs. 1, 2, 3).

The design goes back at least as far as Lorenzetti, whose heavy, middle-aged Madonna of tight, determined mouth and squinting, fanatical eyes, her sloping shoulders and great knees folded in rich fabrics, goes through an almost identical apotheosis, darkly intent upon her destiny. And, on the same theme, not to mention other painters, talented or humble, Sassetta had tried his hand with a success too well-known to require comment.⁴

Yet, notwithstanding the thrill Vecchietta's rendering gives us, we cannot but be aware that the emotional content of the picture is far less ardent and exalted than Lorenzetti's and less tremulous with rapture than Sassetta's. There are even moments when we suspect that it owes much of its peculiar flavor to a romanticized religiosity growing in the exhausted soil of a dying scholasticism. His God and the saints in Heaven are insignificant puppets. St. John makes the gesture — how unlike the passionate reaching up of Lorenzetti's figure — of some credulous young peasant who watches with

¹ Born about 1412, at Castiglione di Valdorcia. His real name was Lorenzo di Pietro di Giovanni di Landi.

² Once in the chapel of the Sacrament. Date: 1461. Cf. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. III, p. 78, n. 3; *Biografie degli artisti senesi*, Romagnoli, MS., Libreria Pubblica di Siena.

³ The head of the Virgin should be compared with the similar, but less vigorous, head in the Conservatorio Femminile, Siena, which has been ascribed to various painters, among them Pier Francesco Fiorentino and Domenico di Bartolo (*Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1908, vol. 1). Once labelled (*Mostra d'Antica Arte*) *maniera del Vecchietta*, it seems to resemble — eyebrows, chin, mouth, and hands — his work only superficially. The *guillochis* at the top and sides may be a later addition and the little panel a fragment of a lost Assumption. Cf. Giovanni di Paolo's crude but earnest imitation of Sassetta's composition, in the Collegiata of Asciano, and also Matteo di Giovanni's Madonna and Angels, in the Duomo of Grosseto. The Sebastian and other Saints and the Assumption, at Badia a Isola, in the church of SS. Salvatore e Cirino, though sometimes ascribed to Vecchietta, are the work of some poor provincial of the early sixteenth century who translated the types of that period backward into the earlier formula for an Assumption. Perkins has suggested Giralamo di Benvenuto. Cf. also C. A. Nicolosi, *Emporium*, vol. XXVI, no. 152, p. 123.

⁴ Now in Berlin. Matteo's interpretation of this subject, now in the National Gallery, is of course later.

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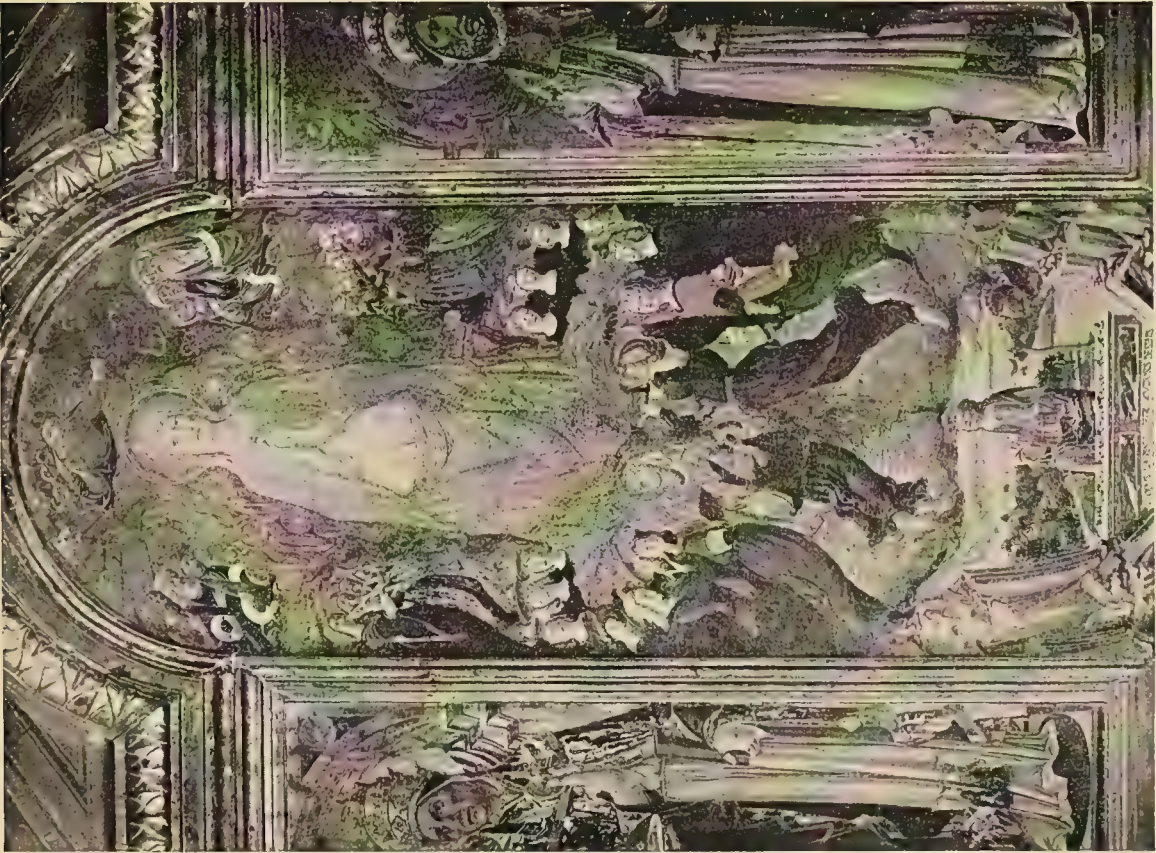
dull amazement a conjurer's sleight of hand. The fingers of the music-making angels are as claw-like as Giovanni di Paolo's enthralling scarecrows. And yet the picture is almost a masterpiece.

That it is not one, in the right and more exclusive sense of the term, gives us in some measure the limitations of Vecchietta's art and, incidentally, those of nearly all the Sienese painters of the early Renaissance. More appealing, more exquisite, of rarer execution, less commonplace, and more intense (if with a slightly puerile intensity) than any but the most inspired moments of contemporary Florentine painters, there is, in the later phases of the art of Siena, the phases which we generally associate with Matteo, Neroccio, and their disciples and followers, a something that leaves us, in the end, as unsatisfied as we are with the Buddhist art of Japan in any but its earliest manifestations.

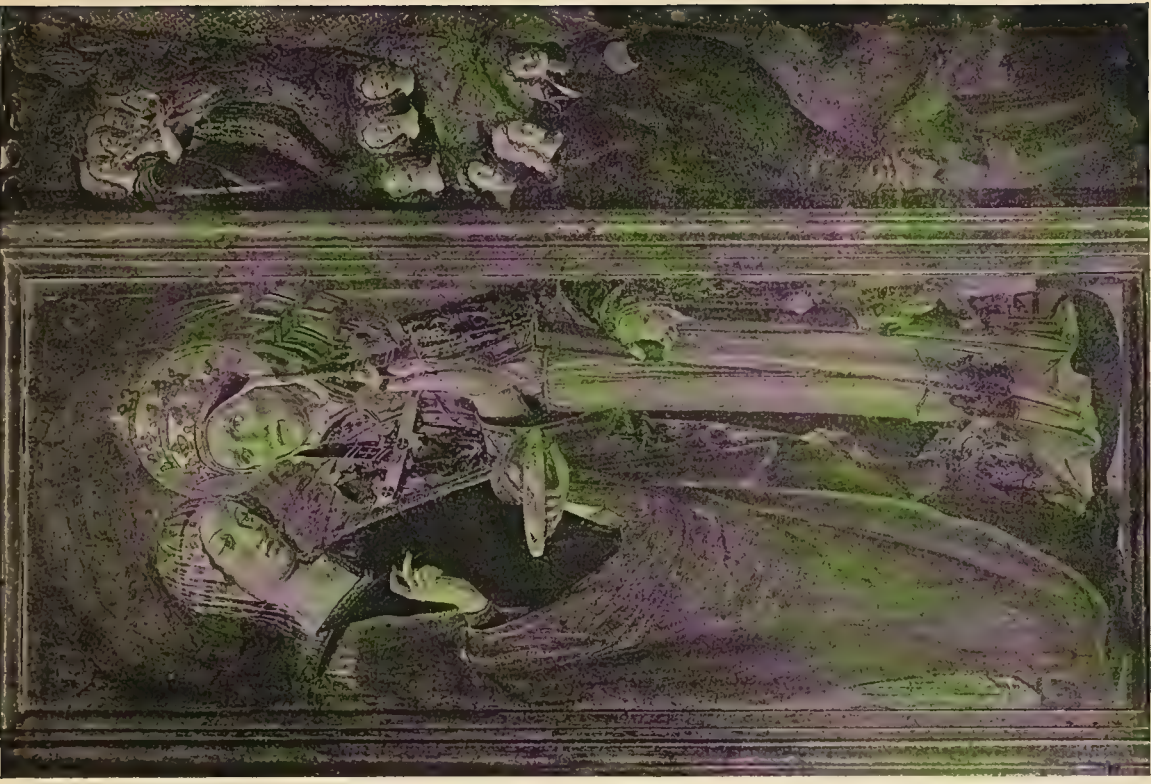
This something unsatisfying Vecchietta himself seems to have felt dimly at least, and his life is, in a way, the story of an effort, at times successful, at times ineffectual, to understand and eliminate it from his own creations. His career has, therefore, an unusual interest, for it illustrates rather nicely the direction and nature of the development of Sienese art during the later middle years of the *Quattrocento*.

In his youth and early manhood, as a pupil of Sassetta's and afterwards in the latter's busy workshop, he absorbed those exquisite, time-honored, but fading traditions which, when expressed in rare workmanship and with yearning, mystical, religious feeling, distinguished, for example, the best work of Sassetta, or, if we discount somewhat the workmanship, Giovanni di Paolo's, from that of other Italian painters of their time. There he stocked his memory with infantile figures set down in a draughtsmanship that owed nothing to anatomical preoccupations; there, too, he found the simian hands, the calligraphic ears, the perspective that, at its worst, is neither imaginative with the fervor and distinction of Duccio's in, let us say, the Marys at the Tomb, nor scientific like that which was fast coming into fashion in Florence. There he disciplined his hand on the richly wrought gold of backgrounds or on the splendid robes of saints, and learned the effectiveness of simple and delicate but conventional, colors, the graceful amble and tangle of pure line, the almost twittering counterpoise of ethereal shapes. He was a workshop-bred artist from whom, as he matured, the past hid few of its secrets; his curiosity was multiform and professional. But it cannot be said that his imagination was of the kind that demands a revolutionary form of self-expression or, in the darkness of its travail, elaborates a new species of flower.

All the Sienese of the later fifteenth century owed, in large measure, their outlook to him and, in much of their work, did little more than condense or modify his progressively naturalistic synthesis of old Sienese and new Floren-



1. Assumption. Pienza, Cathedral



2. Assumption, Left Wing. Pienza, Cathedral





3. Assumption, Right Wing. Pienza, Cathedral



4. Fresco of the Dream of a Nun. Siena, Hospital of La Scala

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tine formulas. That slowly built-up synthesis carries us from his timid, yet delicious, versions of Sassetta's ultramundane illustrations of an enthralling, if somewhat childlike, conception of saintly or Biblical legend to the naturalistic, though beautiful, conception of form he shows in the tomb-top of the dead Sozzini. For, taken as a whole, his art is a record, though sometimes embarrassed and tentative, of expansion and evolution. Yet, in a certain sense, Vecchietta remained provincial and belated. Let us, however, observe at once — we to whom beauty is not a canonical matter — that much of the deprecatory sense usually implied in these two words seems, as everyone knows, to be due to a somewhat hasty assumption that the scientific movement of the Florentine *Quattrocento* was really a turning-point for the better in the history of the progress of the art of painting.

Vecchietta's moments of real weakness seem to have been those in which he was conscious of his own predicament. In these he gives us the impression of having wasted no small part of his rare sensibility in trying to catch up with an alien procession, the exciting drums and fifes of which were always just ahead of him.

It was in Donatello's work for the baptistery, in Siena, and in Jacopo della Quercia's for her famous fountain, that he first heard the loud new music; and though he tried, now this way, now that, to catch, if he could, the secret of its harmonies, he did not acquire until late in life the peculiar, one ought almost to say the scientific, outlook which would have helped him to make the most of such far-reaching innovations, exceptionally thorough though his artistic education had been. The state of mind in which he often found himself produced that oscillation between two styles, one not yet discarded, one not yet acquired, that always marks the work of all but the most original spirits in periods of sudden change. It affected even the structure of his figures, now disproportionately tall, now almost grotesquely short. Moreover, as a painter, his vision had been clouded by premature study of the undigested and turbid form of Florentine influence that he found in Domenico di Bartolo's incongruous compilations. These fluctuations, these uncertainties of purpose, these hankerings after novelty while he dragged about in the swamps of convention, this half-regretful, intermittent blindness to the undeveloped possibilities of the art of his native city, these disheartened departures from its traditions followed by returns to his true inheritance, not infrequently with diminished technical power, are also characteristics, in one phase or another, whether obviously or darkly, of nearly all the artists of the earlier *Quattrocento* in Siena. They render the problem of the authorship of inferior pictures more difficult than it is elsewhere, and in the midst of sometimes indiscriminate imitation,¹

¹ One example of such eclecticism is perhaps enough. Francesco di Giorgio's beautiful altarpiece in the Accademia, Siena (No. 440), recalls here and there, Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Pollaiuolo, Boccatis, and Vecchietta.

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and the ups and downs of even the really talented, it requires more than the usual attention given to such matters to follow the weaving of the thread that contributes most to the general pattern.

Vecchietta was not a Castagno nor a Pollaiuolo. The brutal, the heroic — and it is not adding too much to say the merely forceful — were foreign to his temperament. He suffered from poverty, in all but his later years at least, and was, it would appear, pious — pious with the hallucinated desire for salvation that characterized many of the milder spirits in Siena during the years in which the sources of her power slowly shrivelled up. He must have experienced, too, a certain resistance to the innovations that cried out to be included among the forms upon which his imagination shaped itself — an influence exerted from without against which he could scarcely have been expected to react successfully. It evidently took time to persuade Sieneese priests, or the lay purchasers of altarpieces, that an art as ancient and radiant as Siena's was not the most desirable form in which to express their passionate, if sometimes frivolous, religious emotions. One had to cultivate one's public, however backward and stiffened its taste appeared to be. The inflexible necessities of such a situation undoubtedly account for many of the apparent hesitations and retrocessions, the combinations of clumsiness and grace, as in the *Madonna della Misericordia*¹ (1461) of the Palazzo Comunale, that make interesting eddies on the surface of Vecchietta's development. There are niceties of a discrimination not altogether sterile, if based upon a proper study of the complicated chronology of Sieneese art during his lifetime, which reveal these swirls and backslidings and throw curious sidelights upon his psychology, but they do not change our sense of the broader lines of his evolution. Happily we can spare ourselves the tortuous and over-documented discussion into which they would lead us. Vecchietta dated many of his important pictures and statues or they are dated by documents. And, since it is not within the scope of this article to examine, or even to mention separately, the eighty odd works that have, with and without reason, been attributed to him, such scrutiny as, within the limits of our space, we can give those of which the dates are known will amply suffice to set him in the niche he should occupy in the history of Sieneese art.

Obviously, in the case of such an artist, a strictly chronological survey of his development, while in the main possible, is not necessarily the best way of attacking the problem. Let us, however, since the Annunziata² he painted with Sano in 1439 for the main altar of the Duomo has disappeared, begin with his earliest surviving work — the fresco of the Dream of a Nun (Fig. 4),

¹ Uncovered from whitewash in 1904. The face of the Madonna has been retouched. The Saints are: SS. Savino, Girolamo, Pietro, Caterina, Lorenzo, and Ansano. S. Bernardino and S. Martino appear in the angles of the arch. Giovanni di Paolo's *Madonna del Manto*, in the Servi, Siena, is in every way a finer achievement than Vecchietta's.

² *Documenti della storia del arte senese*, Milanese, vol. II, p. 368.



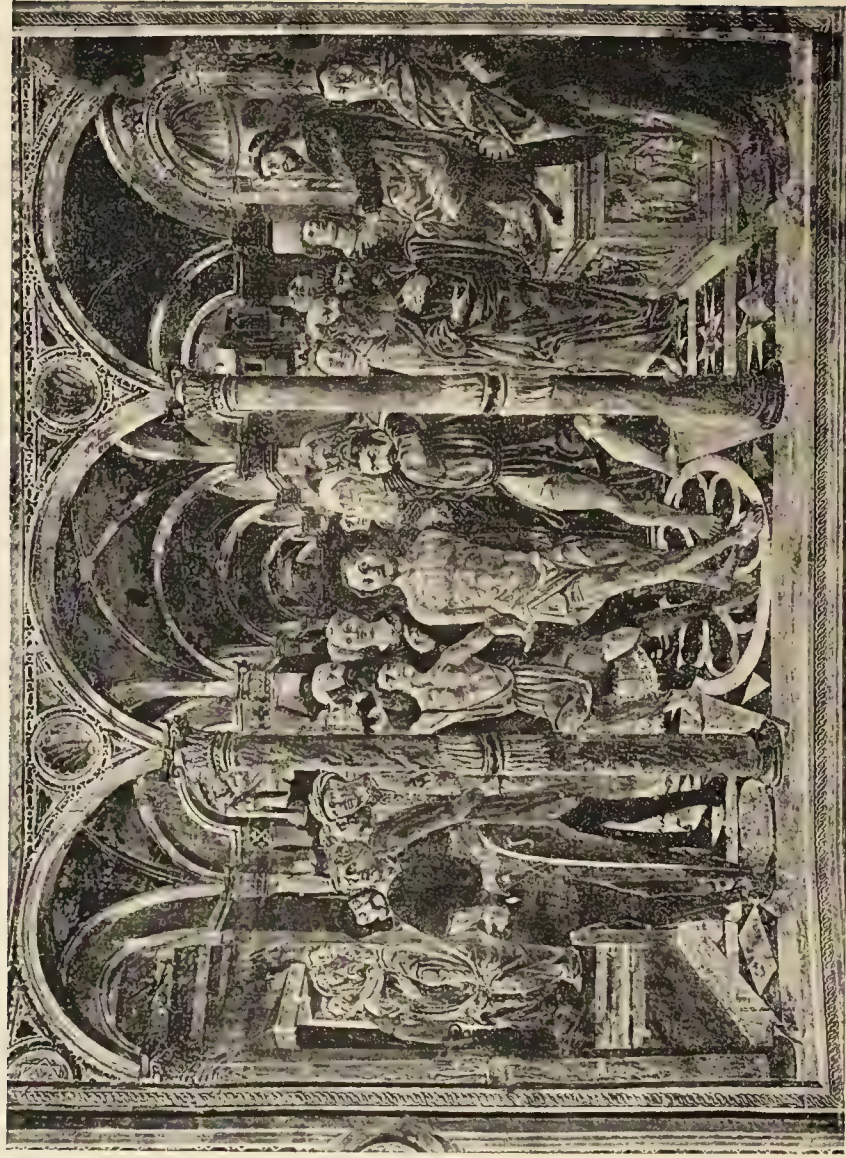
5. Door of a Cupboard. Siena, Accademia



6. Door of a Cupboard. Siena, Accademia



7. Door of a Cupboard. Siena, Accademia



8. Fresco of the Flagellation. Siena, Battistero

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of the Pellegrinaio of the Hospital of the Scala.¹ It is an overloaded composition, in which a too important, naïve, and somewhat imperfect architectural perspective, to say nothing of the aggressively conspicuous finery of the posturing gallants of the foreground, detracts from the carrying-power of the main episode. There is in it an attempt at largeness, style, and modernity that fails of its purpose and, though intended to be brilliant and masterly, it remains touchingly humdrum, a mere crowd of emotionally uncoördinated figures. The color (much restored) is harsh and unpleasant. In this fresco, painted seven years earlier than the decorations of the Sala di S. Pietro, we have, in its emulation of Priamo della Quercia's and Domenico di Bartolo's inept vagaries, a telling commentary on Vecchietta's psychology, for, after this excursion into the pseudo-Florentine he returned, when nearly thirty, to a patient study of those traditional Sienese forms of which his master, Sassetta, was the most conspicuous exponent.

In most of the other examples we possess of his early work, Vecchietta's long apprenticeship to Sassetta is quite apparent. You have only to examine the rapt meditation of the St. Catherine or the clear rhythm of the line in the St. Ansano or, in fact, the hushed abstraction of any other figure on the doors of the cupboard (Fig. 5) that he painted for the Scala,² which is now in the Accademia, to be convinced of the close relationship that existed between him and the older master. He was over thirty when he undertook this commission and there is in it little sign of independent thinking, unless it is to be looked for in his attempts to diversify and enrich the architectural backgrounds. But the religious feeling in the eight scenes from the life of Christ (Figs. 6 and 7) is so fantastically sincere and childlike that the whole series affects one like a quaint suite of madrigals or like those illustrations of the Great Renunciation or the Farewell to Kanthaka that one finds as illustrations in the earliest *sutras* copied in Japan. The Way to Calvary is full of Sassetta's daintiest lyricism. And where is there such a Washing of the Feet, so intent, so aglow with the apostles' wondering submission to that mysterious act of divine humility? And where do their bare legs make such a rippling little tune? How concentrated on the Savior the action of the Christ before Pilate! And was ever a Betrayal more dramatic, more expressive of Christ's foreknowledge and patient calm? The rush of men's passions flows around His serenity, and before those elemental hills the but too human disciples are swept out of the picture by the invisible wave of their self-interest and fear.

In the composition of these scenes there is no muddling influence of Florentine ideals, so that no easier way exists of measuring the disintegrating

¹ For document, see Milanesi, *loc. cit.* A later doorway pierced below has half obliterated the signature. One still reads: *LAVRENSIVS . . . DE SEN . . .*

² For document, see Milanesi, *loc. cit.* The entry is dated December 29, 1445.

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effect they had on Sienese art than by comparing the Flagellation of these panels with the fresco of the same subject in the baptistery (Fig. 8). Several of the same figures are there, but the delicate little mirror, in which the inner significance of the scene was reflected so clearly, is buried under the débris of realistic illustration.

His development in youth and early middle life was slow and retarded. Even as late as 1452, when he was about forty, his work on the ceiling of the baptistery is, in conception and execution, still derivative. At the end of that year we have additional evidence of his intimacy with Sassetta in the *lodo*¹ that he and Sano di Pietro made of the Porta Romana frescoes upon which the older master was at work when he died (1450).

It would not be difficult to pick out and analyze obvious or recondite influences of other artists in Vecchietta's early work—in curious locks of hair, in flying angels, or in the facial expression of stubborn saints; in the spatial dispositions of *predella* scenes (Figs. 15 and 16), such as those of the Pienza Madonna and Saints; in lunettes in which he felt the influence of Umbrian ideals or of Piero della Francesca's architectural perspectives; in the pattern of brocades, rearing hobby horses, crowded faces with upturned noses,² in the broad-browed, dome-shaped heads of old men with long beards.³ Here and there, in his work of this period, we find the drawing up of the skin on the forehead, the puckering of the space between the eyes, the peculiar slant of the wrinkles on the temples, that give a look of grievous anxiety to so many of Giovanni di Paolo's figures. These idiosyncrasies are a result of a straining after expressiveness, a groping for intensity. In the case of Vecchietta they are less effectively used, since they were less an integral part of his instinctive tendencies than they were of Giovanni di Paolo's. What he had at the back of his mind was the convincing naturalism he achieved in his later statues, while Giovanni di Paolo lived in a world of vivid dreams to which his apparent ineptitude and reiterated formulas for details gave, in the finer examples of his creative fancy, a piquancy and, at times, an unearthly implication.

The frescoes⁴ of the Sala di S. Pietro (1448), in the hospital of the Scala,

¹ For document, see Milanesi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 175. The date is December 12, 1452. One is inclined to believe that the years that he passed in Sassetta's workshop had a restraining influence on him and that, in that increasingly backward environment he continued to execute, sometimes without complete conviction, those little pictures so much and often so justly admired by the Sienese, upon the monotonous multiplication of which Sano di Pietro spent his entire life.

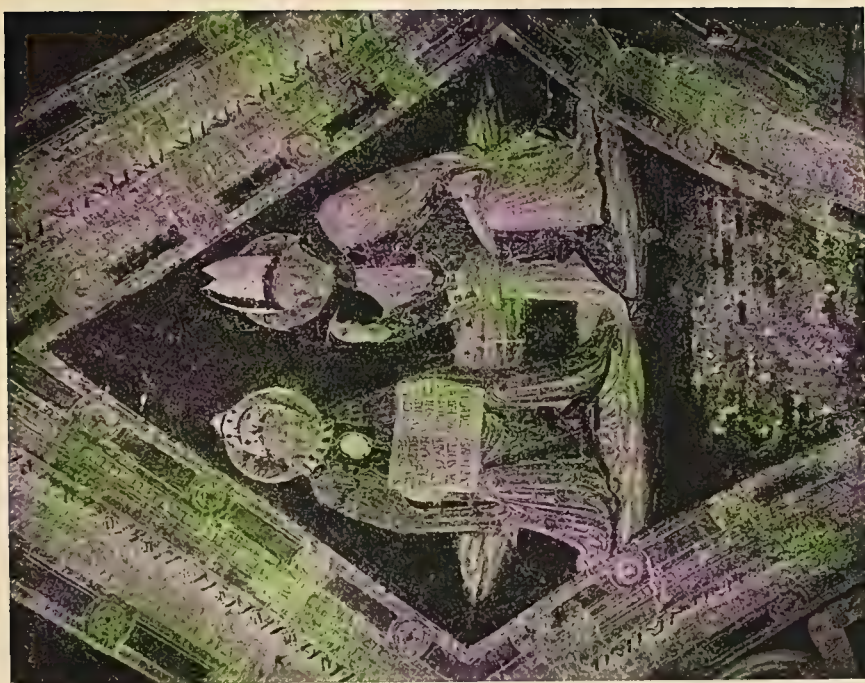
² Cf. the Christ among the Apostles, once ascribed to Liberale da Verona, but by Perkins given to Vecchietta, which forms the frontispiece of the *Costituzione del Capitolo della Metropolitana* (1464) for an example, among many, including the *Madonna della Misericordia*, of the Palazzo Comunale, of this mannerism. Cf. *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1910, p. 73.

³ These he may have borrowed from Turino's St. Paul or his Four Evangelists.

⁴ For the documents, see Milanesi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 368-371. The entries are dated December 31, 1446, and September 20, 1448.



9. Fresco of the Way to Calvary. Siena, Battistero



10. Fresco of Patriarchs. Siena, La Scala, Sala di S. Pietro



11. Fresco of Adam and Eve. Siena, La Scala, Sala di S. Pietro



12. Fresco of the *Credo*. Siena, Battistero

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are a pitiable ruin (Figs. 10 and 11). They are still close to Sassetta and uncontaminated, except in the growing importance of the architectural details, by any unassimilated realism. The patriarchs of the vaulting are magnificently impressive. Here and there, too, a detail of great freshness and humble spiritual grace catches the eye and becomes a part of our memory. In the Adam and Eve the oneness of all living things is keenly felt. The animals are familiar and understanding. Even the flowers are aspiring, and man's first parents kneeling in a landscape of streams and sloping hills seem to feel still that Heaven is not indifferent to their fate.

The frescoes¹ in the baptistery (1449-1453) follow his abortive essay in the Pellegrinaio after a period of at least eight years (Fig. 12). As an elaborate presentation of an uncommon subject, the *Credo*, they have an iconographic interest. But they have been repainted, perhaps more than once, and, while they are still recognizable as Vecchietta's, they have no longer any very intimate revelation to make to us of his sense of form. In the decorative details, the numerous heads of Saints and Prophets of the somewhat antiquated framing — St. Matthew, S. Simone Zelote, Zacharias, and the rest, not to insist on the mythological and historical busts, the tentatively Renaissance scroll designs and *putti* with garlands — various journeymen like Agostino di Marsiglio and Giovanni da Forlì played, as the documents show, their part.

The ruined Way to Calvary, on the right side of the apse, and the Flagellation, on the left side, have been restored and are, in many ways, only caricatures of Vecchietta's workmanship (Figs. 8 and 9). At their best, they must have been transitional and diffused and, in part, the work of other hands now difficult to distinguish. In them the imaginative coherence of Sienese illustration of Biblical legend breaks up when brought into contact with the commonplaces of Florentine realism imperfectly understood and inadequately executed. Still, here and there, one finds something of the earlier magic — the procession winding out of the city gate, the Virgin's swoon, the strange expression in the eyes of the kneeling Magdalen as she holds the Virgin's hand and looks back over her shoulder at the Christ.

The same moving sense of tragic compassion, but terror-stricken and abandoned to grief, is present, as rarely elsewhere, in the ruined *Pietà*, in S. Francesco,² in which the different emotions of Mary, John, and the Magdalen, as they bend over the broken and mortal body of Jesus, are intensely

¹ The commission was given to Vecchietta on February 7, 1449-1450, with permission to employ another painter. For the document, see Milanese, *loc. cit.* and Lusini, *Il San Giovanni di Siena*, 1901, p. 52. The vaulting has sometimes incorrectly been attributed to Michele Lambertini. The frescoes of the apse, which seem to date from 1453, were repainted as early as 1633, though whether this restoration involved Vecchietta's paintings we do not know. Cf. *Archivio della Cura, Filza d. Pieve S. Giovanni, Invent. 22 aprile, 1633.*

² Cf. de Nicola, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, vol. VI, p. 74. This *Pietà* reminds one strongly of a *Pietà* of the Avignon School (about 1470), at Hospice de Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, which is perhaps a somewhat later, parallel expression of Sienese influence in the former capital of the Popes.

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understood, differentiated, and expressed with great beauty of line and concentration of composition (Fig. 13).

The Madonna and Saints, in the museum at Pienza, and the somewhat later altarpiece in the Uffizi (1457),¹ though realistic in details of costume, architecture, and perspective, are still more or less rigid and static (Figs. 14 and 17). The heads of St. Blasius and St. Nicholas correspond, — and this is hardly an indication of poverty, — and throughout the pictures there is that balanced coördination of all the parts in a hieratic whole which is one of the traditional Sienese ways of communicating a sense of sacred peace. Vecchietta had learned it from Sassetta, who, in turn, inherited it, in its potential form at least, from the *Trecento*. The dark complexions of the Saints, their stringy curls, their small eyes with dark irises and shining whites, indicate that the Pienza picture, at any rate, which bears on its beautiful frame the arms of the hospital of the Scala, — it was once on the high altar of the Spedaletto, — preceded the Assumption, painted for the cathedral of the same town, by a certain interval. The central figure of the Uffizi picture harks back to time-honored tradition. In both these altarpieces, the modelling has in it something of a goldsmith's work — a *repoussé* feeling and metal accent. The Vecchietta who worked as *orafo*² with file and graver was not entirely forgotten by the Vecchietta of brush and paint.

If it were possible to consider narrative painting as he used it in *predella* pictures, such as those of the Madonna and Saints, at Pienza (Figs. 15 and 16), as a separate province of his art, one would feel inclined to say that the exquisite feeling for simplicity, space, and graceful coördination that Vecchietta sometimes shows in such little compositions was the most precious part, and the most native to him, of his inheritance from Sassetta.

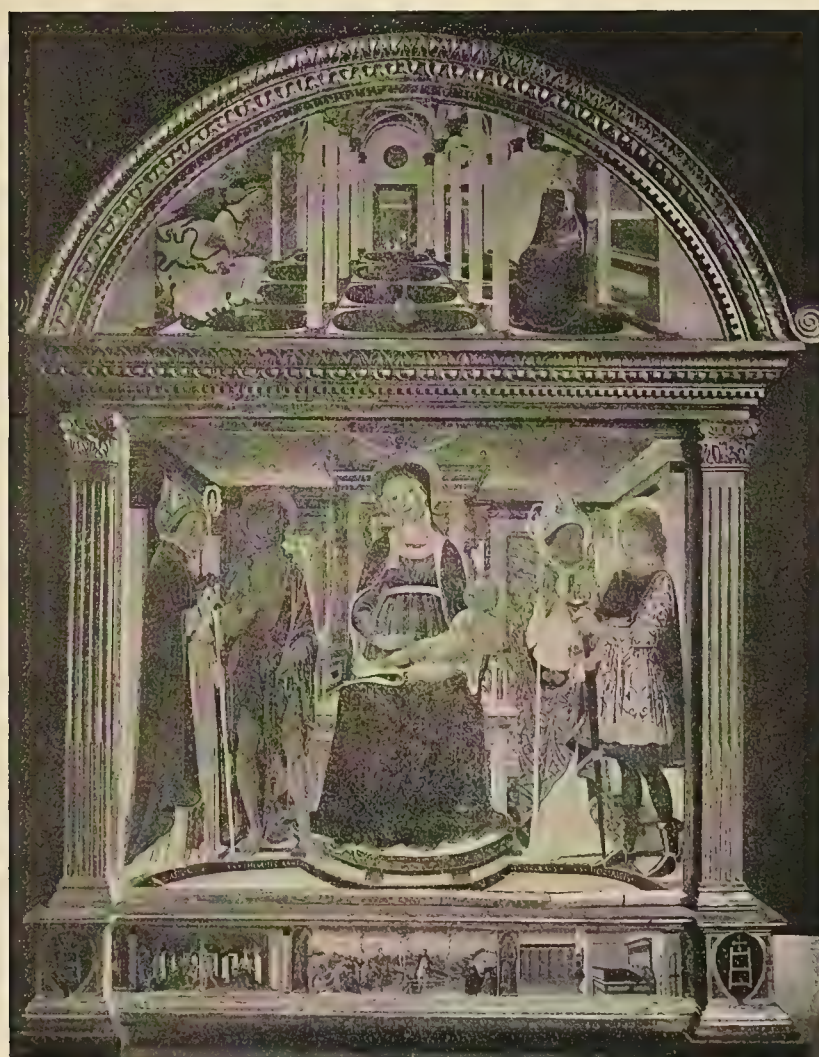
In this connection the *cassone* panel, or bit of a *gradino*, of St. Bernard Preaching, now in the Walker Collection, in Liverpool (Fig. 18), is interesting, not only because in it the influence of contemporary Florentine art is clear enough to explain and, in some degree, condone its earlier attribution to Pesellino, but because its blue grays, its faded pinks, its black on gold, and the features and treatment of many of the figures, which are not unlike some occurring in the *gradino* representing the Martyrdom of S. Biagio, at Pienza

¹ No. 474. Apparently this panel was given to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in 1798 by Francesca Petrucci. It was once a triptych but has now a modern frame. Much damaged and repainted. Some of the heads, as well as the Saints of the small side panels, are practically modern. It bears the inscription: *OPUS LAVRENTII · PETRI · SENENSIS · MCCCCLVII QVESTA TAVOLA L'HA FATTA FARE GIACOMO DANDREVCCIO SETAIVLO PSVA DIVOZIONE*. The Pienza Madonna has the inscription: *OPVS · LAVRENTII · PETRI · DESENI ·*

² Of his work as a silversmith we know practically nothing. There are, to be sure, the three reliquary heads now in the treasury of the Scala, at Siena. They are in *rame dorato*. Two of them — the S. Antonio Abate and the S. Lorenzo — and possibly all three, may be his. In 1473 there were silver statues of his making — a Sta. Caterina and a S. Bernardino — in the Opera del Duomo, and two years later a S. Paolo, with an enamel base, is also mentioned. Cf. *Arte antica senese*, Siena, 1904, vol. II, p. 674.



13. Pietà. Siena, S. Francesco



14. Madonna and Saints. Pienza, Museum



15. Martyrdom of S. Biagio. Pienza, Museum



16. Miracle of S. Niccolo. Pienza, Museum



17. Madonna and Saints. Florence, Uffizi



18. S. Bernardino Preaching. Liverpool, Walker Collection

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(Fig. 15), reveal the source of Neroccio's color, shaggy eyebrows, and other early mannerisms.¹ It is, of course, late and, though organic, somewhat too complicated and studied. The perspective is focussed in the centre of the panel, the masses gracefully balanced, and the execution above reproach. It makes, moreover, a fine distinction between the worldly life of fashion, avarice, amusement, and ambition and the self-abnegating life to which the saint calls his listeners — an intellectual distinction in which we miss Vecchietta's earlier religious intensity.

The ancient traditions of a technique that had its roots in the miniaturist's art often account for much of the dexterity and clarity of these appealing little pictures; and the same traditions, though gradually replaced as time went on, and amplified, hold their own, even in the second half of the fifteenth century, in the tablets of the Biccherna, where, notwithstanding the loosening influence of new *procédés*, the size of the space to be dealt with did much to perpetuate a peculiarly Sienese feeling for the precious and the exquisite. Vecchietta, like most other Sienese artists, contributed his share to this unique collection of diminutive masterpieces. The Angels Holding a Shield (1458), the Madonna Crowning Pius II (1460), and Pius II Conferring on his Nephew the Cardinal's Cap, of the same year, are probably his.

The St. Peter and the St. Paul of the Loggia della Mercanzia are the earliest of his surviving statues (Figs. 19 and 20).² In them the realism attained seems, at first sight, limp and half-hearted. Dressed up in a flowing robe of semi-classic fashion, the older Apostle is, to the superficial observer, not really Sienese, not really Florentine. But Vecchietta's work always repays meditation. Has he not put into this idealized figure something of the hopeless weariness of age, something of the anxiety and weight of responsibility — the heavy keys and the massive book — given into hands that had known only the drawing of nets? St. Paul, too, far from seeming Christ's most militant disciple, is troubled and indecisive. He holds his book in a nerveless hand, and his great broadsword slants loosely, as if a useless property of pasteboard, while, short-sighted and perplexed, he seems to stare at a street brawl that he despises and fears. He gives one the sense of being a mediaeval alchemist who has been dragged away, half-dazed, from his studies by upheavals of the mob. Perhaps, consciously or unconsciously, some of Vecchietta's own discouragement, in the midst of the unsettled conditions into which Siena had fallen, passed into this figure. However that may be, one

¹ Cf. the up-gazing, old men in his little pictures illustrating the life of St. Benedict, now in the Uffizi. His S. Bernardino in the Madonna and Saints, dated 1476, in the Accademia, Siena, is a hardened and stereotyped form of Vecchietta's treatment of the same subject. He was still under the latter's influence in his ruined Madonna and Six Saints in the same gallery, which was painted in 1492.

² Documents under the dates of July 8, 1458, and April 3, 1460. See Milanesi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 309 and 311. On the base of the St. Peter: *OPVS LAVRENTII PETRI PICTORIS SENENSIS*. On the base of the St. Paul: *LAVRENTI PETRI PICTORIS SENENSIS*.

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must admit that Vecchietta was not caught by the exaggerated modelling of little people like Urbano da Cortona, as Neroccio was in his monument to Tommaso Testa Piccolomini (1485) in the right aisle of the Duomo.

His Sta. Caterina¹ of the Palazzo Comunale is hardly more than a sentimental and politely delicate nun of the better classes, anæmic, convent-bred, full of religiosity and devoid of saintliness (Fig. 21). It is, perhaps, the most naturalistic of his pictures, the one that most definitely records his consciousness of the changing sentiment of the world around him and, at the same time, the furthest from reality — a kind of puritanical Sodoma divested of even a fleshly tingle and far too refined to fall into even a pseudo-swoon. Much of the emotion of the later Sienese School finds in this fresco a clearly defined, if somewhat premature, expression. She stands in a niche which is a version of one he used years before in the Last Supper of the Scala cupboard, but which has become finicky now with too many undigested details. The more one studies this picture, the more parochial it seems as an interpretative rendering of Catherine's fiery spirit. But slack and conventional as it is, at least it is not as soft and irrelevant as Neroccio's marble statue of the Saint (1487), in the chapel of S. Giovanni, in the Duomo, which, except for the classic pose, has in it something not wholly unrelated to the Baroque. A glance, for the sake of comparison, at Vecchietta's other rendering of this subject in his Assumption, at Pienza (Fig. 3), is illuminating with regard to what sometimes seems to contemporaries an undoubted evidence of artistic progress.

The large, ruined altarpiece of the Madonna and Four Saints,² from Sta. Maria della Scala, which he seems to have worked on over a longish period, achieves the grandiose in the Virgin, if not in the secondary figures (Fig. 22). The St. Paul recalls the marble of the same Apostle in the Loggia della Mercanzia (Fig. 20). Even in its present effaced condition one can see that the picture is an effort, in part strikingly successful, to correlate, as a problem of design, larger shapes in simpler relationships. Vecchietta has contrasted the superb masses and calm contours of the central figure with the relative littleness of mere human saints. This is a curious return to mediaeval tradition in a scene that takes place before a coffered niche which is, however, in its way only a version of the conventional Sienese background of worked gold.

¹ Something of its simpering gentility may be due to the restorer. See Milanesi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 368-371, for document under date of April 23, 1460. On the *cartella* underneath one reads: *VIRGO · AMMIRABILIS · ET GLORIOSA · SPONSA · XPI · KATERINA · SENENSIS · RELATA · IN · SANCTAR · VIRGINŪ · CATALOGUM · A · RO° · PONTIFICE · PIO · II° · DIE · XXVIII · IVNII · MCCCCLXI · OPUS · LAURENTII · PETRI · SENENSIS.*

² Signed: *OPVS · LAURENTII · PETRI · PICTORIS · AL · DELVECHIETTA · OB · SVAM · DEVOTIONAM.* For Vecchietta's interesting petition to present this and the bronze Risen Christ to the Scala, under the date of December 20, 1476, see Milanesi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 368.



19. S. Pietro. Siena, Loggia della Mercanzia



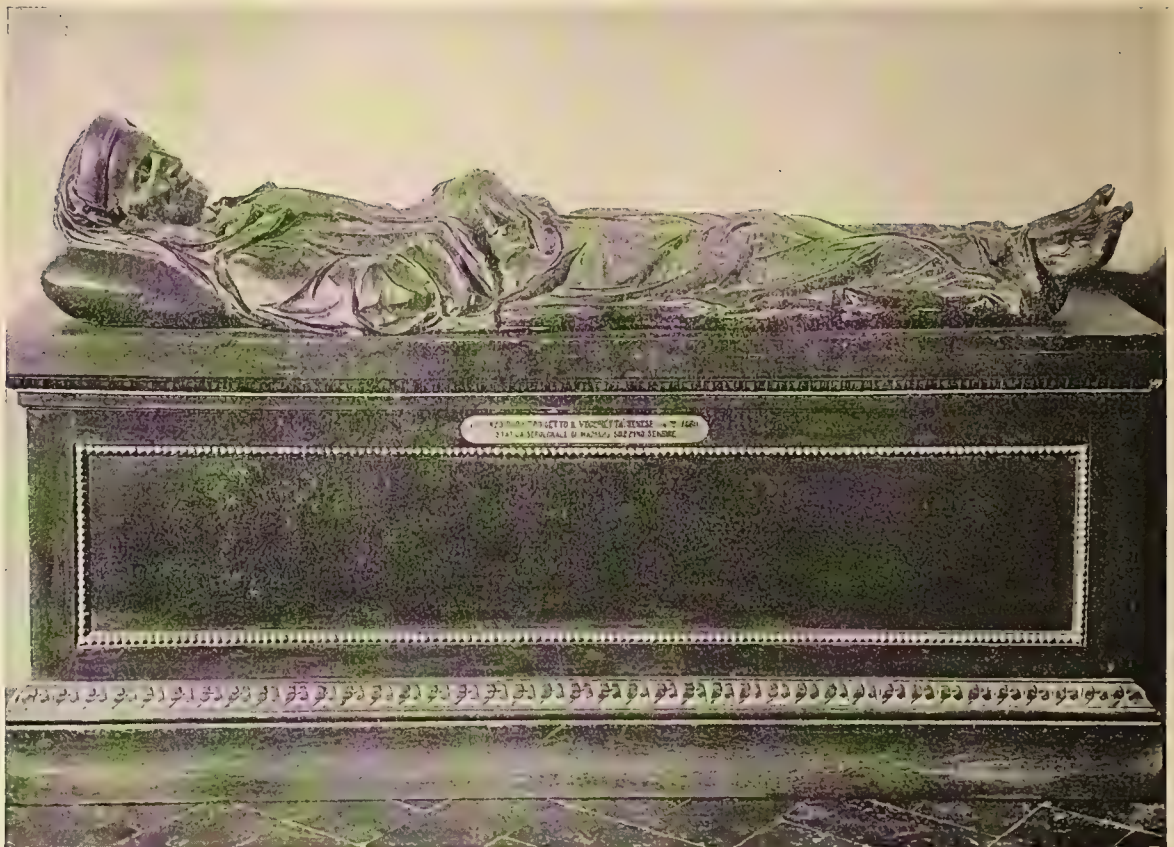
20. S. Paolo. Siena, Loggia della Mercanzia



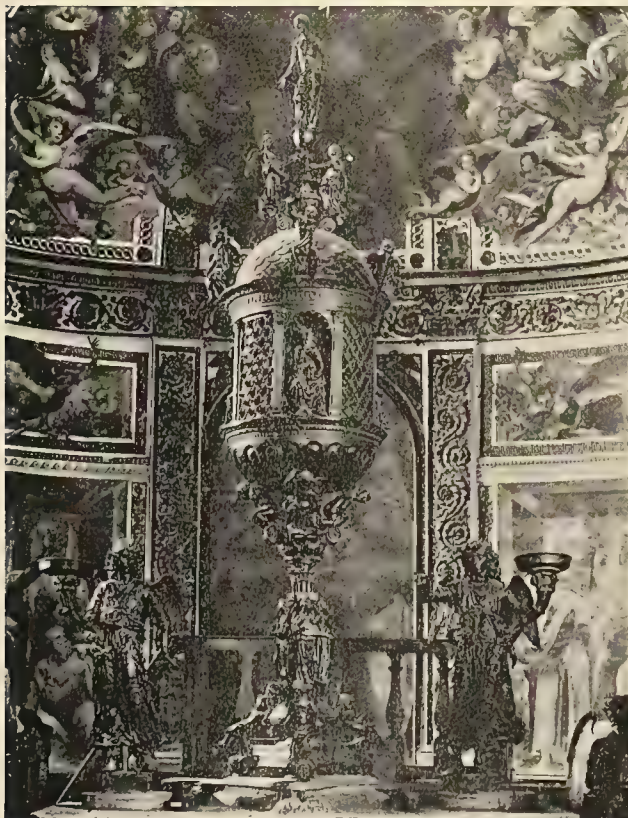
21. Fresco of Sta. Caterina. Siena, Palazzo Comunale



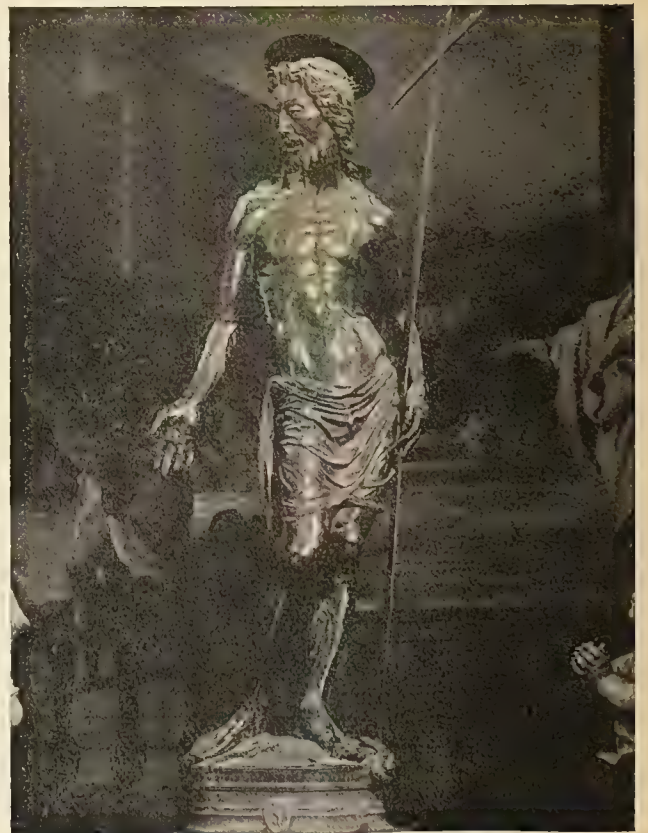
22. Madonna and Saints. Siena, Accademia



24. Tomb of Sozzini. Florence, National Museum



23. Ciborium. Siena, Cathedral



25. The Risen Christ. Siena, La Scala

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The panel dates from nearly the same years as the ciborium¹ which Vecchietta cast for the church of the Scala in 1472, and which Pandolfo Petrucci transferred, in 1506, to the high altar of the cathedral (Fig. 23). This ciborium is one of the largest and most impressive works of its kind and in it the Renaissance comes into full expression of its admirable qualities of proportion, distribution of accents, poise, variety, and invention. Compared with it Francesco di Giorgio's candle-bearing angels, which now stand on the same altar, are fretful and unsympathetic.

In another work of these years, his recumbent high relief of Sozzini (1467),² there is a relaxation in the long, slim hands laid upon one another and in the thin body from which all strain of living has fallen away, leaving it fragile and limp under the loose rhythmical creases of his clinging robes (Fig. 24). The great lawyer's keen, emaciated face, hollow cheeks, sharp chin, scraggy throat, and thoughtful brow are full of the satisfaction of death. He has closed his eyes on all annoyances and tangled problems. This loosening of the tension, this peace, Vecchietta has transcribed in bronze with the self-effacement of the greatest art — with dignity, simplicity and insight. As a sepulchral effigy, Sozzini's tomb is of a sensibility so delicate, an execution so intimate and unemphatic, that few mortuary monuments surpass it in tenderness or in expression of the repose that the most energetic, the most harassed, find in death.

In modelling it stands midway between the St. John of Fogliano (Fig. 28) and the tight, intensely wrought Risen Christ of the Scala. The casting was done in two pieces and the high lights retouched with file and chisel.

The Resurrected Christ³ of the Scala (Fig. 25) has in it a strange, detached feeling as of some Indian *yogin*. The puny, ailing body is *déhanché* in a pose that reveals an anatomical preoccupation not thoroughly understood. It is exotically beautiful with an unworldliness beyond suffering. In spite of the hard accent of much of the modelling, it is soft and somewhat uncertain,

¹ In a general way its form is derived from the ciborium of S. Giovanni. There one also finds the same Cupids and the same Virtues that sit in niches, only in Vecchietta's work their drapery is less harmonious and organic. The original cost of this imposing work was 1150 florins. Begun in 1465 it bears on the base: *LAURENTII PETRI PICTORIS ALIAS VECCHIETTA DE SENIS MCCCC LXXII*. The original cartoon still exists in the Accademia. As draughtsmanship it is firmer than that of the pyx ascribed to Antonio Pollaiuolo, in the Uffizi (No. 942). For the documents regarding this work, see Borghesi e Banchi, *Nuovi documenti*, p. 234; one is dated April 26, 1467, the other November 29, 1472.

² Mariano Sozzini, il Vecchio, was famous as a canonical and civil lawyer. Pius II, whose teacher he was, made him *avvocato concistoriale* and dedicated to him his *Historia de Eurialo et Lucretia*. He was learned in mathematics, astrology, medicine, music, and art. His tomb was erected in S. Domenico at the expense of the city. See Milanesi, Vasari, vol. III, p. 78, n. 3. It was later removed, it would seem, to the palace of Bartolommeo Sozzini, near S. Spirito.

³ On the base, at the back: *P·SUI DEVOTIONE FECIT HIC OPUS LAURENTII PETRI PICTORIS AEL VECCHIETTA DE SENIS MCCCC LXXVI*. Both this Christ and the Madonna and Saints, now in the Accademia, Vecchietta gave to the Scala for a chapel that he decorated and in which he was buried. For the document see p. 50, note 2. Cozzarelli, in his Baptism, at Sinalunga, remembered this figure.

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and in the horny, veined hands the wounds of his agony appear like bullet marks in mud. The rather full eyes are untriumphant and vague, and the jaw droops. The gesture of the whole figure is that of one to whom even martyrdom is no revelation. Like a heavy-lidded puppet, he holds loosely against his side his slim cross as some tired and apologetic actor might, at the end of a pantomime, hold a symbol of the meaning of the scene. In shape and movement he is merely the finial of the Duomo ciborium enlarged (Fig. 23). But the beauty of the material and the casting is so caressing, the lovely brown-red bronze so without a flaw, so living, luminous, and of so rich a grain, that it would almost seem that Vecchietta, unable to give plastic form to his devotion, managed in some way to let his yearning pass into the mere material and the patient fondling of the workmanship. Donatello's St. John the Baptist in the cathedral at Siena, which Vecchietta must have studied, is, by comparison, structurally vivid and magnificently modelled, every advantage having been taken, if not of the beauty of the material, at least of its power to express gradations of surface in passages in which reflections are interspersed with shadow. The face has a bird-like, prophetic look. In intention it is direct and unsicklied by theological mysticism.

Vecchietta was, in all probability, the greatest Italian master of the art of casting in bronze during the middle decades of the *Quattrocento*. He turned his hand with equal success to statues in the round, architectural designs like the ciborium we have just discussed, monumental high reliefs, and small plaques like the splendid Resurrection (1472),¹ once in Casa Chigi in Rome, and now in the Frick Collection (Fig. 26). Compared with his, from a technical point of view, Donatello's work, if we forget his creativeness and stirring vitality, seems rough and unaccomplished in not a few cases, and that of so late an artist as Cellini stale and amateurish. The very quality of his metal has something rare about it and reminds one of nothing so much as of the great, black bronzes of the Yakushiji, at Nara, which we owe to a forgotten Corean workman.

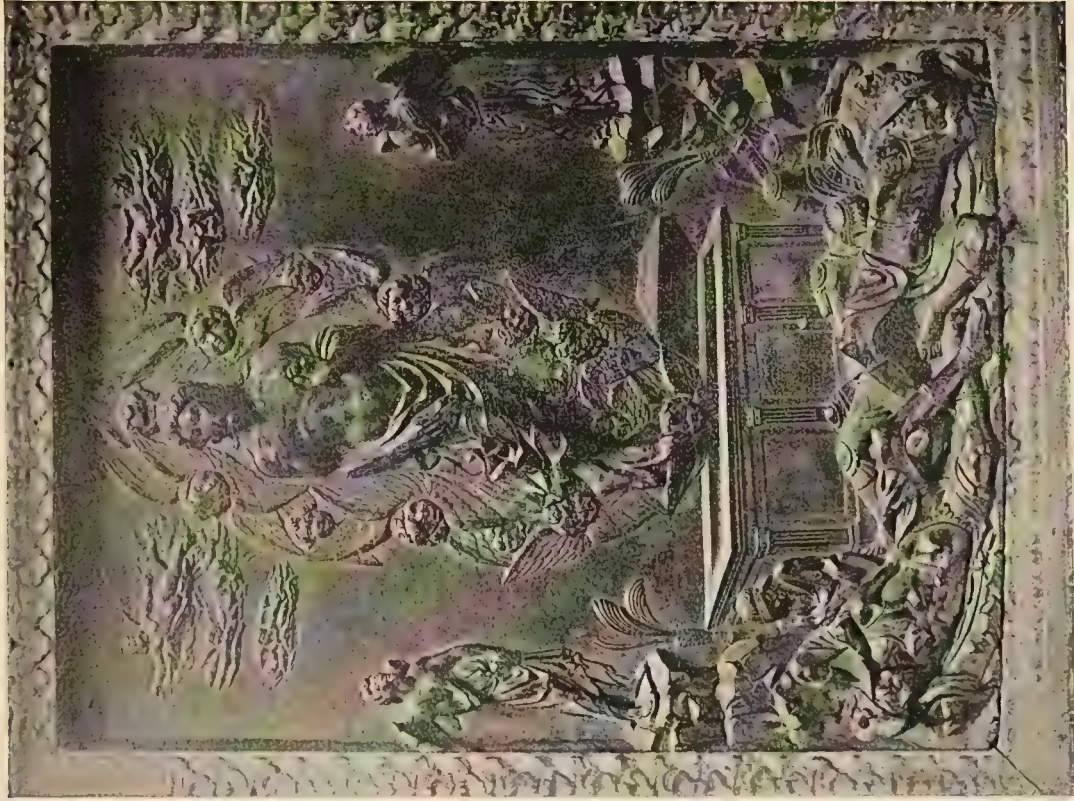
The massive seated statue of Sant' Antonio Abate,² in the Duomo at Narni is, like the Risen Christ, undermined by a certain vacillation in the general conception (Fig. 27). Though there is splendid energy in the ample beard and in the flowing folds of the drapery, yet on the whole it is like a life-size version of some work first wrought in silver.

It was rather in the wooden statue of the Baptist³ now in the little church at Fogliano that Vecchietta expressed himself most strikingly in sculpture

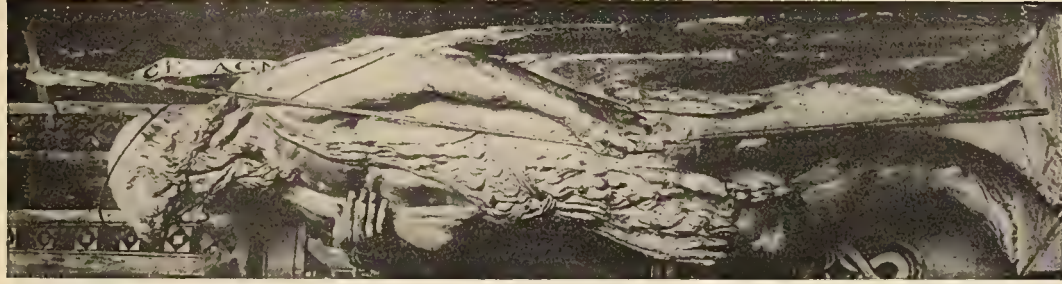
¹ Signed on the tomb: *OPVS · LAVRENTII · PETRI · PITTORIS · AL · VECCHIETTA · DE SENIS · M · CCCC · LXXII*.

² On a pillar, to the right, in the Duomo.

³ On the high altar of the Propositura. Carved in *orbo*. The thumb of the left hand broken and the ends of the sheep-skin. Traces of an inscription on the base under the whitewash.



26. The Resurrection. New York,
Frick Collection



28. Wooden Statue of
S. Giovanni Battista.
Fogliano, *Propositura*



27. Wooden Statue of S. Antonio Abate.
Narni, Cathedral

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(Fig. 28). Though derived more or less directly from Donatello, the spirit of the figure is less that of an impassioned messenger of the Messiah than of one who has shepherded flocks in lonely places and, lost in vague ponderings on the universe, has wandered into the city to bear witness to an event he does not fully comprehend. Less preciously elaborated, less caressingly fondled as material than the Christ of the Scala, it is full of a solemnity quite its own, a deep expressiveness, wild without grimness and solid without stodginess, though the muscles of the legs are a little lumpy. The surface is less agreeable than most of Vecchietta's, because the original paint and gold leaf is now hidden under a coat of *porporino* applied some time in the last century.

Elsewhere in painting, and at an earlier date, he had tried to achieve the monumental, toward which the whole art of the *Quattrocento* groped, for the most part unconsciously, by an admirable arrangement of a single figure in relation to the framing lines. This is the secret of the S. Lorenzo,¹ now in the Accademia at Siena (Fig. 29), which was painted not very long after the Uffizi altarpiece in which a similar conception of the Saint appears. Both are the traditional, impassive, and brocaded icon, statelier perhaps but not less static. And, even on so large a panel as the S. Lorenzo, the stamping of the gold background, though it has shrunk to a band, is still there.

The excellence he finally achieved in wooden statues of a rather realistic kind can be studied in his S. Bernardino, now in the Museo Nazionale, Florence (Fig. 30). The slim, beautiful proportions of the figure bring out with a fine indirectness the drawn, fanatical, and yet gentle face of the great preacher. The fleshless body is firmly felt under the long simple folds of his robe; the gnarled hands hold the symbol of Christ's passion with almost tremulous entreaty. The eyes have been dazzled by shining visions; they burn with a sense of man's perverse blindness to the sure salvation of faith and beseech sinners to turn from their ways. Here Vecchietta has gone as far as the Sienese school ever went in vivid naturalism which, while not without elegance, resembles, in the exactness of the rendering, the most faithful portraiture.

But, in spite of its uncompromising statement of physical facts, this statue² is thoroughly Sienese in its clear implication of religious conviction and ascetic ecstasy. Between it and Vecchietta's earlier interpretation of the same subject, now in the Accademia, Siena (Fig. 31),³ from which all the restlessness of modelling and earthly reality had been smoothed away, leaving only a sublimated image of the ascetic in whose ear a little bird speaks and from whose mouth fall the words, "*Manifestavi nomen tuum hominibus,*"

¹ Cf. G. Cagnola, *Un recente acquisto dell' Accademia delle Belle Arti, Siena, Rassegna d' Arte*, vol. III (1903), p. 29.

² Inscribed on the base: *OPVS·LAVRENTII·PETRI·PICTORIS·SENENSIS.*

³ No. 205.

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lies much of the evolution of Sienese art between 1440 and 1480. In many ways it states, in final form, some of the most characteristic tendencies of those interesting years.

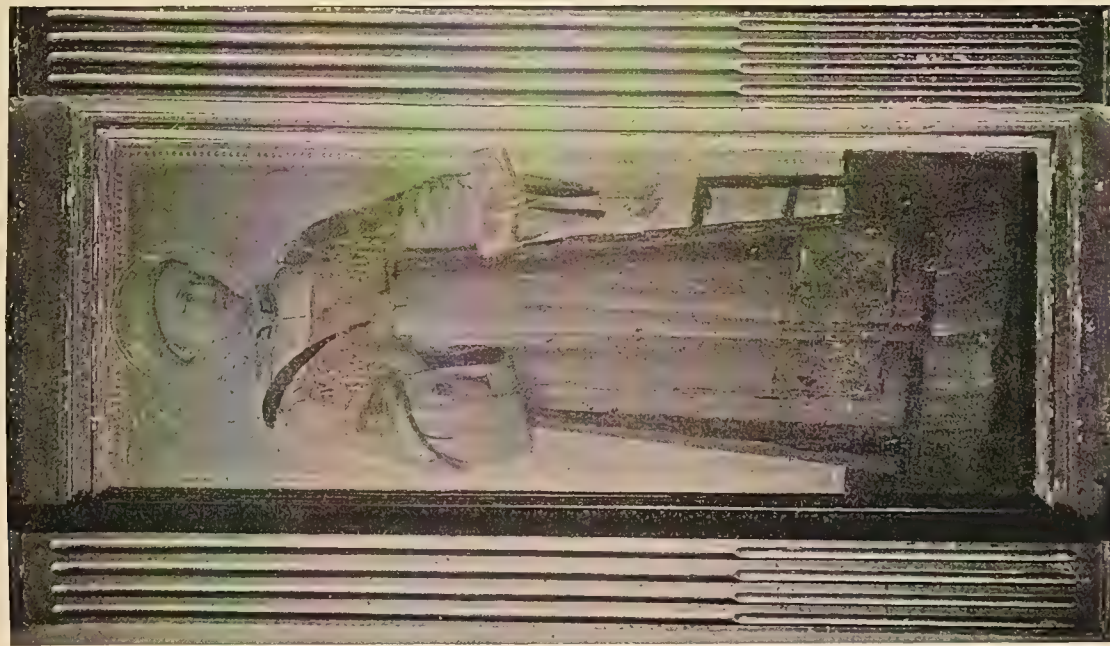
The much-repainted polychrome statue of St. Christopher, in the Louvre,¹ was long ascribed and, if my memory serves me, still is, to Vecchietta. But it is not only rather clumsy and weak, but it displays little of the technical resourcefulness shown elsewhere by Vecchietta in carvings in the round in wood. A similar judgment must be passed on the admirable reliquary bust of a Saint, now in the Johnson Collection (1135), Philadelphia, which appears really to date from the early years of the sixteenth century.

Of Vecchietta's work as architect and military engineer we have no real knowledge. He was never in demand among princes as Francesco di Giorgio was, and his travels in this capacity seem to have been limited to journeys undertaken, at the request of the Sienese government, to repair or supervise alterations in frontier fortresses. He was at Sarteano in 1467 and, collaborating with others, he made a model of that citadel. In the same year he seems to have gone to Rome armed with an architectural model in wood and a letter from the Republic of Siena recommending him to the attention of the Pope. No work of his in the Capital has, as yet, come to light, but it was like him that, while he was there in 1464, he bought for fifteen and a half ducats *una dispensatione di Santo Jacopo*.² In 1468 he visited Orbetello and Talamone; he is also said to have made a model of the *rocca* of Montacuto.

Had he been willing, Vecchietta, as we have already observed, might have become a Sano di Pietro. In Florence he might have been a Baldovinetti and a Michelozzo. But he had neither the conservatism, the consistent workshop prettiness, of the one, nor the environment of the others. Too much cannot be laid at the door of either accident. Perhaps the secret of his relative obscurity lies in the unusual range of his activity. One carefully exploited characteristic might have made his fortune in his own day and in ours. For Neroccio and, in spite of his apparent diversity of range, Matteo di Giovanni, took up a handful of his experiments and by a heightened accent or a more consciously willowy line here, or a more compact arrangement of figures, a more formal and flatter design there, achieved that curse of so many careers, the unmistakably personal style which, at the first encounter, calls up the unconsciously deprecatory word "charm." The bones of such reputations are always a delicate morsel for imitators old and new; and as the years go by,

¹ Collection Eugène Piot.

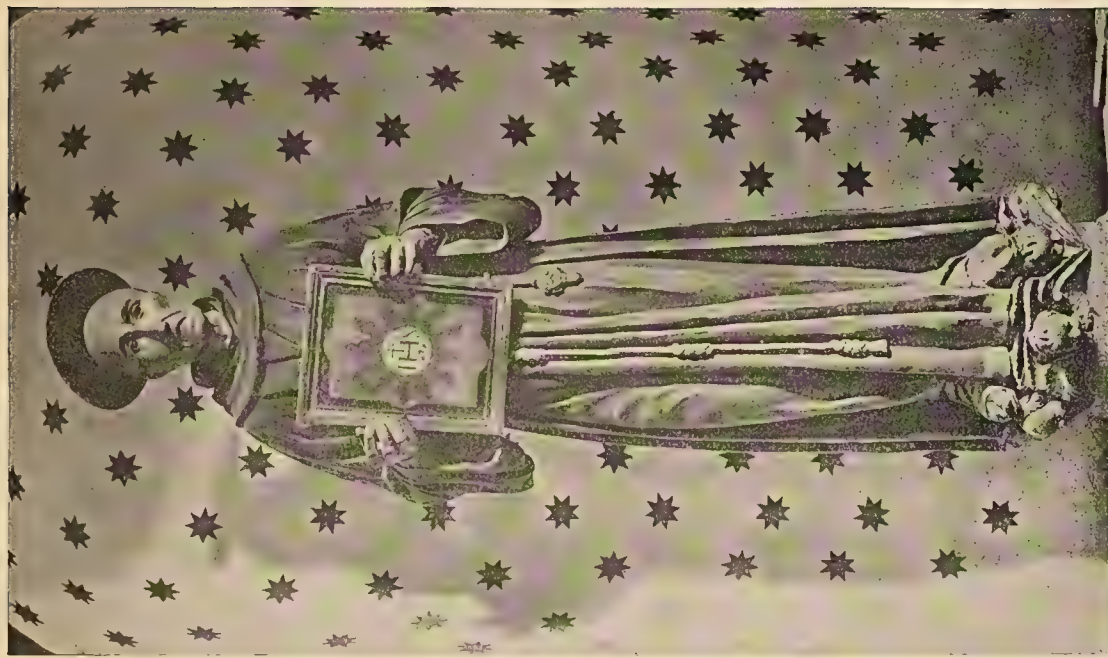
² Cf. *Rassegna d'Arte*, vol. XV, p. 65, with reference to his journey to Rome. For the letter of the Sienese government to Messer Goro Loli Piccolomini recommending Vecchietta to the Pope, see Milanesi, *Documenti*, vol. II, p. 301. This document is dated March 28, 1460. It has been suggested, though there seems to be no evidence to substantiate the conjecture, that Vecchietta made the model for the Loggia of Pius II, in Siena, that was erected under the supervision of Federighi.



29. S. Lorenzo. Siena, Accademia



31. S. Bernardino. Siena, Accademia



30. Wooden Statue of S. Bernardino. Florence, National Museum

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more and more pictures drift into the main currents of the trade and perpetuate and turn mawkish the deft *cliché*, the sleight of hand to which they owe much of their fascination. Time, however, finally puts all artistic tricks through its reels "slowed down."

Vecchietta married twice: first, Francia d'Angiolo di Nannoizzo da Tocchi, and, after her death, Francesca di Maestro Giovanni di Niccolò. There were no children. He died in June, 1480.¹

¹ For a *denunzia de' beni* of Vecchietta's, dated 1453, see Milanese, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 284. From this it appears that he had a small house in Via de' Fusari, in the district of S. Giovanni; another, unprofitably rented to Ambrogio di Martino, a workman; a piece of unproductive land in the *comune* of Certano, half a house and half a vineyard in the *comune* of Ginestreto. He complains that his wife is ailing two thirds of the time and that he himself has been ill from April to September and has had to sell much of his household goods to keep alive. Statements made to tax collectors were intended to move them to compassion. Other *denunzie* of his, dated 1465 and 1467, are known. For his will, see Milanese, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 366. It is dated May 10, 1479. He leaves his wife life-tenant of his property and he makes small gifts to Paolo di Giovanni di Paolo, goldsmith, and to his brother, Nanni di Pietro, who was also a painter, and to his nephew. He makes his residuary legatee the chapel of S. Salvatore, in Sta. Maria della Scala, to which he had already given his Risen Christ and the altarpiece, now in the Accademia. For the codicil, which dates from two days later, see Borghesi e Banchi, *op. cit.*, p. 255. In it he confirms his wife in her life-tenancy only on condition that she does not remarry.

CHINESE "GRAPE AND SEA-HORSE" MIRRORS



1. Mshatta, Palace. Detail of Façade

CHINESE "GRAPE AND SEA-HORSE" MIRRORS

By HAMILTON BELL

WE have no term in English descriptive of the motive of design which in French is *rinceau*, and in German, even more precisely, *Ranke*, so that I must perforce call it by one or other of these names. Since French architectural terms are more familiar, I shall select the former.

The *rinceau* in its simplest form is based upon a continuous waving line, sometimes returning spirally upon itself like a partially opened scroll looked at edgewise. Like the spiral or fret, it is found in so many, if not all, the most primitive savage arts all over the world, that it may be regarded as a common possession of humanity. As time went on, it began to be treated as a branch adorned with leaves. My object is to assemble a sufficient number of instances of its use when clothed with the foliage of the grape-vine to support my argument as to the origin and date of the Chinese "grape" mirrors. We know positively neither why nor where, suddenly, about the beginning of the Christian era, this vine *rinceau* achieved the importance it maintained in the decorative arts for the next seven or eight centuries. In the classic lands *rinceaux* were used for ornament from comparatively early times, but the vine very seldom appears in their composition before the Augustan age, when "the naturalistic treatment of vegetable forms began; . . . the culmination of this came in the second century A.D. in the tombs of the Haterii, etc."¹ Notable exceptions are on the engraved backs of Etruscan bronze mirrors, which are generally dated from the sixth to the third centuries B.C.² Walters³ gives fifth to third and considers the majority to be late. It is worth noting that the Etruscans are almost unanimously regarded as of Near-Eastern origin. They most certainly held trade intercourse with Egypt, Phoenicia, and possibly Mesopotamia, as their arts testify. A few *rinceaux* may be found on Greek black vases (about 400 to 350 B.C.); these, however, are chiefly of ivy.

The one important classic example of pre-Augustan date is that of the vine *rinceaux* on the famous Sidonian sarcophagi of about 300 B.C. It must not be forgotten that these sarcophagi, though the work of skilled Greek craftsmen, were, almost certainly, made in Asia, for Syrian potentates. On the best known, the "Alexander,"⁴ and on another, the vine branches are treated with extreme naturalism, the twigs bent at sharp angles, not curving, in a

¹ Wickoff and Strong: *Roman Art*.

² Walters: *Cat. Bronzes*, British Museum.

³ Gerhard: *Miroirs Etrusques*.

⁴ Casts in Metropolitan Museum, New York.

CHINESE "GRAPE AND SEA-HORSE" MIRRORS

graceful convention, as they do on the third. Curiously like these angular rinceaux is the border of a Himyarite inscription from Aden, now in the British Museum, with birds among the foliage. It bears no date, but as the Himyarite supremacy lasted only from 115 B.C. to 300 A.D. it may be one of the earliest examples we have. Other early examples are on the green glazed pottery, called "Megarian," and similar wares of the third and second centuries B.C., or, according to some high authorities, of the third century A.D. Dr. G. H. Chase¹ says that the finest Aretine pottery was made from 40 B.C. to 60 A.D., and on this we find most beautiful vine rinceaux, besides much vine and other foliage, treated in the same manner as that in the marble sculpture of the period. In no other art do we find vegetation treated decoratively with such grace and natural informality in details. Perhaps the most exquisite handling of the vine is that on the altar or well-head from Pompeii,² which cannot be later than 79 A.D., when that city was destroyed. Comparable to this and almost equally fine are those on the Bacchic vase, from Hadrian's Villa, in the British Museum, on the Borghese Vase, and on a throne dedicated to Bacchus in the Louvre. On the arms of the last are true rinceaux of extraordinary delicacy.

Its rise to favor in Greco-Roman art would thus seem to coincide with the expansion of the empire into the eastern Mediterranean about the time of Julius Caesar's conquest of Egypt, 30 B.C. Not that Rome had not come into contact with the East far earlier. The wars with Pyrrhus in 280 B.C., and the Punic wars from 264 to the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C., followed by those with Antiochus of Syria in 191 and Mithridates in 88 B.C., must have rendered her familiar with the sciences and arts of the more ancient civilizations to the East; while Greece, from whom she had borrowed most of her culture, had been intimate with them from the time of the Persian wars and doubtless even earlier. Still it is not until about 25 B.C. that we begin to find vine rinceaux freely used in Roman architecture. It is significant to note that most of the early examples occur in Asia. The synagogue at Kefr Beirim, the temple at Siah, and Herod's at Jerusalem were all founded just before the opening of our era, during the Roman occupation of Syria. Hatra, probably of Parthian construction, was destroyed in 330 A.D.

The vogue of this motive seems to have reached a climax during the reign of Diocletian, 284 to 305 A.D., who was neither Greek nor Roman but a Dalmatian, as was Aurelian; Constantine was born still farther east, in Mœsia. It appears in its most luxuriant form on Diocletian's palace at Spalato, and on the temples he erected at Baalbek and Palmyra. Hereafter the motive is omnipresent, not only in the eastern provinces but throughout the empire. Its prominence in early Christian art is most probably due to the

¹ Loeb Collection of Aretine pottery.

² Nicollini, vol. II, pl. 96.



2. New York, American Museum of Natural History. Mirror

CHINESE "GRAPE AND SEA-HORSE" MIRRORS

beauty of the motive itself. Having been once adopted, the symbolism which it suggested, possibly, as is so frequently the case with symbolic designs, dictated its popularity. The early Christians, be it remembered, were Orientals. The innumerable examples of Coptic art, in all materials, show that it had reached Egypt, not impossibly with Christianity, early in our era. By some authorities much of the work in the Near East which is decorated with this motive is ascribed to the Parthian and Sassanian monarchs. It is certainly common in Sassanian textiles, examples of which have been found all over the world known to the ancients and beyond in China and Japan.

It matters little under whose supremacy they were executed, the popularity of the motive would seem to be demonstrably Oriental. Highly sophisticated examples of lotus rinceaux occur in India, at Barhut, Sanchi, and elsewhere, at a period when classical motives can hardly be believed to have reached the peninsula, though Iranian not improbably had. A conspicuously classical vine rinceau from Mathura is not believed to be earlier than the second century A.D., and may even be later; and there are one or two in the Greco-Buddhist sculptures from Gandhara of Irano-Greek origin or inspiration.

At some time in the first century A.D., so far as extant examples indicate, human figures, usually at first *erotes*, animals, and birds begin to appear among the foliage; though a bird occurs on the Himyarite slab just mentioned, and on an even earlier Etruscan mirror-back,¹ a figure, possibly Actaeon with his hounds, ranges through the vine branches. It is curious that these two show the same disregard of scale as do all the later examples. But these are the only two instances I can find until the first century A.D. A lovely little bronze vase in the Musée Cinquenaire at Brussels is dated in this century, as are others in other collections and many Coptic textiles. The same date is claimed for the silver chalice from Antioch, but it would seem to me without evidence or much likelihood. A very high authority² is of the opinion that its date is the first half of the fourth century. It is none the less an extremely sophisticated and accomplished example of the motive. A well-known mosaic floor from Hadrumetum, of the second century, and carving on the temple of Bacchus at Baalbek (about 150), together with the paintings in the cemetery of Praetexta of the same date, lead up to the marble panel in the Lateran Museum which Wickoff and Mrs. Strong prefer to date in the third century rather than in the Augustan age, their reasons being that it shows a decline both in design and execution from such beautiful renderings of floral motives as adorn the tombs of the Haterii in the preceding century.

We may pause to note the chief characteristics of this motive. Whether the ornamental basis, rinceaux or what not, is carefully emphasized, or

¹ Gerhard, vol. IV, pl. VII, p. 2.

² Ch. Diehl, *Syria*, vol. II, p. 85.

CHINESE "GRAPE AND SEA-HORSE" MIRRORS

whether, as in this case, the vines, though highly naturalistic, are a mere tangle of leaves and branches, the plant is the prime object of interest to the artist. The figures, whether Christ and his Apostles as those on the Antioch chalice are asserted to be, or *erotes*, animals, birds, or insects, are all treated with a total disregard of scale. A man may hide behind a leaf, or a bunch of grapes be as large as the body of a horse, while a bird or a bee may be half as large as either. So closely allied to this panel that Strzygowski considers them as productions of Constantine's day, though the Constantinople Museum which houses them regards them as of the fifth to sixth centuries, are some drums of columns covered with the same jungle of vines swarming with little people and animals. A long list might be made of examples of this motive, but the most familiar are the ivory throne of Maximian at Ravenna and the allied panels of the pulpit at Aix-la-Chapelle of the fifth and sixth centuries. These consummate examples are universally accepted as of Eastern origin, either Alexandrian or, more probably, of Syro-Iranian workmanship. About this time Near-Eastern work in every material is full of this characteristic motive. Striking similarity with Chinese "grape" mirrors is to be seen in Sassanian and late Roman metal-work in many collections.

The most splendid and considerable use of the motive and the most important to the discussion of the moment is on the façade of the ruined palace at Mshatta in Moab (Fig. 1). The date of this amazing piece of decorative sculpture is still in dispute. Professor Strzygowski, who has devoted a learnedly exhaustive paper in the *Preussische Jahrbuch* to the subject, believes that it was built by the Sassanian King Sapor I, 242 to 272 A.D., or perhaps even by Parthian monarchs. Fergusson gave 627 as the date of its commencement, while the date adopted by the authorities of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin, where a whole bay has been set up, is early eighth century. The style is certainly more Sassanian than Moslem, and is very like a frieze at Deir-el-Abiad dated 310 A.D.¹ The design and treatment of the vine rincaux, filled as they are with little figures of men, beasts, and birds, are so suggestive of that of the Chinese "grape and sea-horse" mirrors which are the object of our own study, as to suggest immediately that the decoration of the one was derived from that of the other, or in any case belongs to the same school.

The relations between Iran and China would seem to be of great antiquity. As Professor Rostovtzeff has ably demonstrated, in more than one place, there can be no doubt that much of the art of Han is so intimately connected with that found in such quantities in the Kurgans of southern Russia that the two must have a common parentage, which he asserts to be Iranian. He further suggests that the decoration of the earliest known Chinese bronzes,

¹ Gayet, *L'Art Copte*.

CHINESE "GRAPE AND SEA-HORSE" MIRRORS

perhaps as old as 1000 B.C., is also based on the ancient Iranian "animal style." This has yet to be proved, and doubtless will be by future investigation; but when we reach the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., the intimacy of the relation between East and West, otherwise historically recorded, is clearly shown by the influences of Persian art on that of the Far East. From the time of Christ, if not earlier, a considerable trade had flowed across between East and West. So little excavation has been done in Iran that evidences of the continuity of the arts in that part of the world are not yet as numerous as they undoubtedly will be some day. But even from what we have, it is safe to assert that the ravages of neither Moslem nor Mongol permanently disrupted the current which flowed without break from Achaemenian days and even earlier to the present, even if at times the stream was forced underground like the *Kanats* of its native land.

While Iranian influences are to be detected here and there even in sculpture and painting, it is in the minor decorative arts of the Far East that they are most evident. This is proved beyond doubt by numerous finds in the sands of the Taklamakan, where Sir Aurel Stein found, in burials of late Han times, bodies wrapped in "Sassanian" patterned silks, and by the contents of Shōsōin, a Japanese temple treasure-house, which was finally closed in 756-57 A.D. The contents of this amazing museum of eighth-century culture reveal at every turn the force with which Persia acted on the arts of the T'ang dynasty of China, whence, as the contemporary inventory tells, the Japanese emperor Shomu had procured many, if not all, of his most treasured possessions. Among these are a large number of T'ang bronze mirrors, fifty-six in all, the finest in existence, some as large as two feet in diameter, the decorative motives on which plainly declare their Iranian origin. Four of the most beautiful are "grape" mirrors. These four, so far as I can ascertain, are not among the twenty — eleven octagonal and nine round — included in the original catalogue of the emperor's legacy, though they may be. In any case they were added very shortly afterwards, as the treasury was finally closed before the end of the century. The uncertainty arises from the inadequacy of the translation of the *Toyei Shuko*, which gives 775 as the equivalent of the eighth year of *Tempyo-Shoho jidai*: this is really 756-57.

Japan, however, provides us with other evidence of the use of these mirrors at this time. In the Hōkkedō, another building in the precinct of the same temple, Tōdaiji at Nara, are three canopies above the main altar. These are adorned with nineteen "grape" mirrors. As only the polished faces of these can be seen from below, we are justified in believing that they were not so uncommon at the time — 733 A.D. — as to be treasured for the artistic beauty of their backs, but could be used merely as radiant spots for

CHINESE "GRAPE AND SEA-HORSE" MIRRORS

ornament. Many other such mirrors in Japanese temples testify to their popularity in the Island Empire.

Moreover, it is important to note that no mirrors of this or any other T'ang type have been unearthed from the Japanese dolmens, though those of Han are numerous. This form of sepulture, it is said, was abolished in Japan, by Imperial edict, in 650 A.D.

Curiously enough, the only use, with one exception, of the vine rinceau in the whole of the Far East except on these mirrors is also in Japan. It occurs on the bronze throne of the colossal statue of Yakushi in the Kondo of Yakushiji dedicated in 716. The exception is on a small gold disk of T'ang workmanship in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Ancient metal hand-mirrors may be grouped under two types: those with handles of Western, possibly Greek, origin and those usually called "Scythian," in which the handle is absent, the mirror being held by a strap or cord passed through a perforated *umbo* or boss in the centre of the back. The most ancient of this type are those excavated from the Kurgans of western central Asia and southern Russia, from Hungary all across Eurasia to the shores of the Pacific. The earliest are found together with objects dating from the sixth century B.C. They are represented in use in Indian sculptures at Amravati, third century A.D., in one Greco-Buddhist relief from Yusufsai, and in the paintings of Ajanta, about the fifth century A.D.; while in China the actual mirrors themselves date from at least as early as Han times.

The boss varies in shape: on "Scythian" mirrors the simplest is a mere loop or a button-like disk raised on a shank or on four feet. This, even in the earliest samples, often develops into an animal, as it does almost invariably on the Chinese "grape and sea-horse" (*Hai-ma*) mirrors which are the object of this study. On these it seems to embody the Chinese idea of a crouching lion. At least, it is usually more like the sculptured lions in the art of that country than it is like any other animal. The decoration of the back is disposed in concentric circles about the boss as a centre. There is usually a large field, with two or more borders diminishing in width toward the edge. The ridge separating the field from the first border is sometimes merely grooved, sometimes this groove is filled with little beads. In a very few large examples the ridge is doubled with an ornamental border between the two. In the finest of all, the ridge becomes a vine stock from which the rinceaux grow inward and outward. These are occasionally so disposed that the base of the composition in the field is a trefoil formed by the main stems, but more often not. Among the branches career or sport all sorts of animals — puppy-lions, horses, sometimes winged, deer, and birds; in the outer border birds and insects usually; a bee or a butterfly as large as its neighboring bird. On the best, all of these are amazingly lifelike and expressive.



3. New York. American Museum of Natural History. Mirror

CHINESE "GRAPE AND SEA-HORSE" MIRRORS

As a rule these mirrors are circular, but there are a few square ones known, and one in the Pleyel collection in Paris, with a duplicate in the Boston Museum, is octagonal with incurved sides, the only examples among the hundreds I have studied.

In the American Museum of Natural History in New York is a mirror (Fig. 2), No. 70.11671, 10 7/16 inches in diameter, decorated with vine rinceaux, among which are the twelve animals of the Turkish Zodiac. While not one of the most elaborate of the type, its interest for us is great since it bears date in an era that corresponds to 742—755 A.D. It, or a duplicate of it, has been exhaustively discussed by M. Chavannes,¹ who traces this zodiacal cycle to the Turkish tribes of western central Asia and gives as his opinion that, even if it was perhaps known to the Chinese as early as the first century A.D., it suddenly came into general use only in the eighth and again in the thirteenth century.

The mirror has in the centre the monster boss, common to the type, surrounded by the four animals of the four quarters of the heavens. In the first circle beyond, the vine motive occurs, with the twelve zodiacal animals. The treatment of the rinceaux appears to me rather primitive than degenerate. The grape bunches already spring from conventional husks, and the tendrils, much attenuated, are treated with considerable spirit and naturalism, as are the grape bunches. There are no vine leaves but, instead, a conventional crenate leaf, which at Mshatta and on many great mirrors, of a more accomplished type, is mixed with those of the vine. In the next border, alternating with the eight Trigrams, occurs a degraded copy of an ornament composed of a rosette from which spring two palmettes. This is not uncommon in classical art, and may be found, among other places, on an Aretine bowl in the Fogg Museum, Harvard. Stamped in place of one of these palmettes is a little figure supporting a sort of cartouche inscribed *ts'ao p'u*, the Ts'ao workshop. The next border contains the twenty-eight constellations, denoting the moon's path among the stars. The knowledge of these, Bushell says,² was derived by the Chinese from the west in about the eighth century. It is common to them, the Indians, and the Arabs. Outside again is the inscription which gives us the date. The whole is surrounded by a narrow border of the familiar "cloud fungus" of immortality. It is remarkable that, while many Taoist emblems occur on these mirrors, there is never a trace of Buddhist symbolism, so far as I have been able to detect. In the Field Museum at Chicago is an exact duplicate of this mirror, minus the shopmark, and the cloud border, which is replaced by a broad flat 1 1/4 inches wide.

The twelve animals of the Zodiac occur again on another "grape" mirror, in the same collection (No. 70.11.673) (Fig. 3). This, however, is a work of

¹ *Toung Pao*, série II, vol. VII.

² *Chinese Art*, vol. I.

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the highest accomplishment and greatest beauty and will easily hold its own, among the best of these fine works of the bronze founder. The treatment of the vine rinceaux is free and bold and the conventionalization masterly. Mixed with the highly decorative grape bunches are flowers of a type we find in later Persian and the Indian arts derived from it. There are many of what, for convenience, I have called the Mshatta leaf, but the vine leaves, controlled with great skill to fill the spaces, are strangely suggestive of those on the bronze Yakushiji throne at Nara, of the eighth century. The two dragons and two phoenix fill the centre with sweeping curves which entirely satisfy the decorative sense. But it is in the twelve animals, which wildly chase around the main border, that the mastery of the artist is displayed. The *galop volant* in fullest freedom is the action of most of the beasts, and nothing in the whole range of animal representation on so small a scale can excel the fidelity and dexterity of the workmanship. The ape, the goat, and the hare are masterpieces, while the rat, the horse, the hound, and the boar are almost as fine. Altogether this mirror ranks with the greatest examples in Shōsōin or any of the Japanese temples.

I have selected these two as representing the extremes of technical accomplishment in the making of the "grape and sea-horse" mirrors. Many are larger, and there is a wonderful variety in the arrangement of the few simple elements which compose their decoration, but these two will serve to illustrate my point. They comprise the whole range of the type. The simpler, technically, is not of a low order of craftsmanship while ranking high in symbolic design. The more elaborate is accomplished enough to rank with the best examples of the use of this peculiarly lovely motive in any art.

And this came into and went out of Chinese art without producing the slightest effect on any other branch of the arts. Assuming, as I think we may confidently, that the earliest date from about the seventh century, where, in what that has come down to us of the arts of that period, do we find a trace of the influence of these mirrors? One would think that a motive so lovely, carried to such a pitch of perfection and, for the moment, it would seem, so popular, would surely reappear in other crafts. But no, it was developed to fulfil certain decorative needs, and, having satisfied those, was suffered to die. Even on mirrors it was supplemented and eventually replaced in later T'ang times by other motives; a foreign fashion, it evidently made no permanent appeal to Chinese taste.

One or two other motives common to these mirrors and to the arts of western Asia deserve mention as evidences of an intercourse between the Nearer and Farther East, which began, in all probability, a century or two before the Christian era, and, while often interrupted, has never entirely ceased from that time to this. Perhaps the most striking is that of the

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galop volant, which has been traced by M. Salomon Reinach from Mycenae clear across Asia, in his brilliant essay on the subject.¹ This *galop* is conspicuous on the mirrors under consideration, but not, so far as I am aware, on those of Han time, though it is common on the pottery and sculpture of that period. As it is absent, or of infrequent occurrence, in Iranian art until Sassanian times, when it becomes very common, its appearance in later Han would seem to indicate its passage eastward with the trade revival which we know occurred shortly before the beginning of our era. Both this motive and that of the contorted and entwined animals were probably continuously popular throughout western central Asia from the time they reached "Scythia" from Mycenae, spreading thence east and west. Some of these animals on the mirrors are winged, either unmistakably, or with a curl on shoulder and haunch. This feature is certainly of ancient western Asiatic origin; at least, it is first found in the arts of that part of the world. There are several peculiarities in the treatment of the vegetation common to these mirrors and to such Iranian monuments as Mshatta; the divergence of one branch from another, certain bud- and flower-forms, together with the crenate type of leaf before mentioned, which in both mingles with or replaces that of the vine. Most of these are found continuously in later Persian art and in that Indian which is derived from it, even to the present day.

There are a number of ornamental motives, some of which appear in Chinese art in Han, others not until the fifth century, which are common not only to the arts of the Far East, to Sassanian Persia, and to those of Gupta India, but about the same time or a little later reached even to the extreme west of Europe. So remarkable are the likenesses between some of the ornamental patterns in North Wei caves at Tun Huang, for instance, and those in early mediaeval church decorations and manuscripts, that they immediately suggest a common birthplace which can be none other than Iran. The occurrence of many of these in our mirrors calls for their mention here, but the whole subject is too big for present treatment.

If the white metal, of which most of these mirrors are made, approximates to the standard for this purpose set in the Chou-li, of half tin and half copper, it is almost a spelter and would flow at a comparatively low temperature. Dr. Laufer² says that this *Pai-t'un*, white copper, contains copper 40.4, zinc 25.4, nickel 31.6, and iron 2.6, with occasional traces of silver and arsenic. Chantre gives an analysis of white bronze from the Caucasus containing about 30 per cent of tin.

Although there would be no difficulty in casting these mirrors in an open mold, since the relief is not high and rarely undercut, yet it is traditionally asserted that they were always made by the *cire-perdu* process, by which the

¹ "Le Galop Volant," *Revue Archéologique*, 1900-01.

² *Sino Iranica*, p. 555.

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model or matrix is destroyed. Mr. Langdon Warner¹ gives the following account of the Chinese method of casting such fine and delicate bronzes:

"It is known that in China during the Han, Six Dynasties, and T'ang periods, when the best and most delicate mirrors were cast, a wax model of the ornamented mirror was hung in a jar of water. To the water was added impalpably fine loess clay, which remained in suspension for a long time and settled by degrees in the interstices of even the most delicately carved ornament. By degrees more and more clay was added as the water evaporated, until, after a considerable time, the jar was full of fine clay closely packed about the model. The wax was then melted out and the metal poured in."

So many exact duplicates of mirrors exist that it is safe to say that the use of this process was by no means invariable, and that a mold or stamp was not infrequently employed. The use of molds for casting, from the earliest times, possibly even from the first discovery of the ductability of metal, all over the ancient world, is well known. Montelius is of opinion, however, that in the Scandinavian Bronze age (*circa* 1700–500 B.C.) the *cire perdue* process was more commonly used than the mold. In the case of these mirrors it is not improbable that a matrix was prepared by impressing a stamp in a clay bed which was afterwards baked. Such stamps and matrices for coins and ornamental work, such as jewelry, of even greater delicacy and minuteness, from the very earliest days of Chinese metal casting exist in many collections. A complete mirror made by the *cire perdue* process might also be used as a stamp, resulting in what is known as a *surmoulage*. The occurrence of partial duplicates, in which the basic rinceaux are the same but the disposition and actions of the animals, birds, and insects which disport themselves among the foliage differ, suggests another process. This suggestion would seem to be raised to something like a certainty when we find, as we do, individual leaves, flowers, and grape bunches, together with members of the fauna of these mirrors, repeated, the identical objects in different relations to the composition. The process would seem to be that by which we know that the Aretine bowls of the Augustan age were made.

The artists to whom we owe these lovely vessels devoted their talents to making the molds, or perhaps merely the stamps, by the use of which they were decorated, leaving the mechanical labor of casting to less skillful hands. These stamps were modelled in relief, with whole figures, heads, hands, feet, bits of drapery, even a leaf, flower, bunch of grapes, or such minute fragments of detail as a single egg and dart, the repetition of which decorated a molding. With these before him the artist laid out his composition on the interior of the mold, using such stamps as he needed to impress in *intaglio* on the soft clay the components of his design. Thus with a minimum of labor he could

¹ *Sculpture of the Suiko Period.*

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obtain effects of the greatest variety. The finished mold was then baked and could be used again and again. Examples of both the stamps and molds are to be seen in many collections.

It would seem to me that many of these mirrors were composed in this way. That the process was familiar to Chinese artists of that day is proved by the existence of numbers of such molds in plaster, not only for whole figures but, as in the case of the Aretine bowls, for heads, limbs, draperies, and ornamental details. Quantities of these have been found in Chinese Turkestan, where they were used in the elaborate stucco decorations of the Buddhist temples, and elsewhere in the Far East.

Lest the whole matter may seem too trivial for such serious treatment, a few words of explanation may not be amiss. Dr. Hirth,¹ on the strength of the ascriptions in the Po-ku-t'u-lu of 1107 A.D. and the Si-ts'ing-ku-kien of 1749 A.D., asserts that these "grape" mirrors are of Han date. He maintains that, since the Han general Chang K'ien brought the grape-vine from Ferghana in about 126 B.C., we should therefore expect the appearance of that plant in Chinese art at this period. He calls the motive Greco-Bactrian and suggests that its vogue was due to Bacchic influences. Dr. Hirth's theory, despite its insecure foundations, continues to be quoted in all seriousness, doubtless because of his high standing as a Sinologist.

Dr. B. Laufer informs us² that the faith of Oriental archaeologists in the infallibility of these classic catalogues has undergone a notable modification, and that their unsupported ascriptions of date are regarded as of little value. With these views he agrees, and further thinks with them that the "grape" mirrors originated in the fifth and early sixth centuries under Persian influences. The late Okakura Kakuzo³ ascribed them to the same general period, that of the Six Dynasties, adding, "the whole design suggests west Asian influence." Dr. Hirth's argument based on the importation of the vine is too fanciful to deserve serious consideration unless supported by evidence, which it is not. We know absolutely nothing of Greco-Bactrian art, and are not at present justified even in maintaining that such a school ever existed. Some of the coins of Bactrian kings are, it is true, Greek, but the dies for these could have been, and not improbably were, made in some Seleucid capital.

As to the Bacchic inspiration of the motive, the world in which we find it rampant, so to speak, was Zoroastrian, Christian, Buddhist, and, toward the end of the period, Mohammedan. It might almost be regarded as anti-Bacchic.

As I hope I have shown, the internal evidence of the mirrors themselves is all against Dr. Hirth's early dating of them. Though the vine rinceau

¹ *Chinese Metallic Mirrors; and Über die fremde Einflüsse in der chinesischen Kunst.*

² *Jade.*

³ M. F. A., Boston, *Bulletin*, vol. VI, no. 32, April, 1908.

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motive was not wholly unknown in the arts of the west contemporaneously with Han, it was not until after the fall of that dynasty that it acquired importance in Western art. The arts of Han are in a totally different phase of development, along different lines, and technically far less sophisticated than those of the later Six Dynasties and T'ang, in all of which, besides strong Iranian influences, we find such a high degree of achievement as makes it impossible to class these exquisite works of sculpture, for such indeed they are, in any other period.

A DRAWING BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO



1. Three Fighting Nudes. Drawing (Fragment). Harvard University,
Fogg Art Museum, Sachs Collection

A DRAWING BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO

By ALFRED H. BARR, JR.¹

THE drawing by Antonio Pollaiuolo, originally at Wilton House but now in the Fogg Art Museum (Paul J. Sachs's collection), deserves more careful attention than has hitherto been accorded it. Only a score or so of authentic drawings by Antonio are known, and of these none is more interesting than the Harvard drawing, because of its connection with engravings and with other drawings and because of the problems arising therefrom.

The accompanying reproduction (Fig. 1) makes a detailed description of the drawing superfluous. It is sufficient to note that it is fragmentary, having been cut down on all four sides. The figures of warriors are drawn with pen and bister and colored with a pale bister wash. They are silhouetted against a background of dark bister. There is practically no modelling or shading and, except in the drawing of the heads, there is very little use of line within the major contours. The elimination of modelling, of linear detail, and the reduction of the color scheme to two flat tones of the same pigment, make possible a decorative effect of extraordinary beauty.

This effect is, I think, peculiar to Pollaiuolo among the painters of the Renaissance. It is comparable perhaps to contemporary *niello* work, of which Antonio was a master. It is much more similar in character to the intarsia pavement of the Siena Duomo, though there, in spite of the difficult medium, descriptive line within the silhouette is elaborated, whereas Pollaiuolo has nearly eliminated it. Among paintings one may mention the two *condottieri* in *verde terra* against a monochrome background by Uccello and Castagno in the cathedral of Florence, though in them the intention is primarily sculpturesque. More approximate is Uccello's magnificent drawing of a horseman, in the Uffizi.

It is, however, only in Pollaiuolo's own work that we may find close contemporary analogies. The British Museum drawing of A Prisoner Brought before a Judge (Fig. 5) is so nearly identical with the Harvard fragment in medium and decorative conception that one is encouraged to search for a more conclusive relation. These two drawings resemble closely the damaged frescoes of dancing nudes in the Villa della Gallina at Arcetri, near Florence. Though there are in the latter traces of color in the flesh and garlands, the

¹ I wish to thank especially Professor Sachs of Harvard and Professor Morey of Princeton for valuable suggestions in my preparation of this article.

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effect of flat athletic silhouettes against a darker background is strikingly similar to that of the drawing.¹

The source of this unique style of figure decoration is not to be found in the work of Pollaiuolo's immediate predecessors but in Greek vase painting. This interesting dependence was first pointed out, and I think conclusively proved, in a too little-known paper by Mrs. F. R. Shapley.² In the application of the style to a more monumental scale Pollaiuolo may of course have taken suggestions from the Siena pavements and from Uccello and Castagno, under whom he is said to have worked.

Two engravings may be grouped tentatively with the British Museum and Harvard drawings. These are *The Battle of the Ten Nudes* (Fig. 2), engraved by Antonio himself, and the similar plate, called *Hercules and the Giants* (Fig. 3), by an inferior imitator. The right-hand third of the latter print reproduces almost exactly the contours of the figures seen in the Harvard drawing, with the exception of a narrow strip along the right margin, which the engraver omits.

The similarities between these four works — the two engravings and the two drawings — have so long been a matter of common knowledge among connoisseurs that it is curious no one has attempted to establish a more intimate connection between them.

The relation between the Harvard drawing (Fig. 1) and the *Hercules* (Fig. 3) — the closest of any two among the four — has been variously described. Strong³ calls the drawing a "study for a group in the engraving"; Berenson,⁴ a fragment of the original cartoon "executed for the engraver." Cruttwell⁵ and Borenius⁶ are more cautious in reducing the drawing to so subordinate a position, for, whatever may have been its purpose, it was certainly not intended *merely* as a cartoon for the *Hercules*.

Careful consideration suggests not only that the drawing is fragmentary, but that the engraving itself is merely a part of Pollaiuolo's original conception. The figure at the extreme right of the engraving is almost bisected by the margin of the plate. The right side of the same figure, however, appears more completely in the drawing. At some time in its history the drawing had been retouched to increase its resemblance to the engraving. Upon coming into the Sachs collection the drawing was cleaned and these posthumous alterations removed, revealing at the same time certain previously concealed details. Among these was the hand and arm hurling the

¹ Compare also the study for the Sforza monument in Munich.

² F. R. Shapley, *A Student of Ancient Ceramics, Antonio Pollaiuolo*, *The Art Bulletin*, New York, vol. II, (Dec., 1919), pp. 78-86.

³ S. A. Strong, *Drawings by the Old Masters at Wilton House*, pt. II, pl. 17.

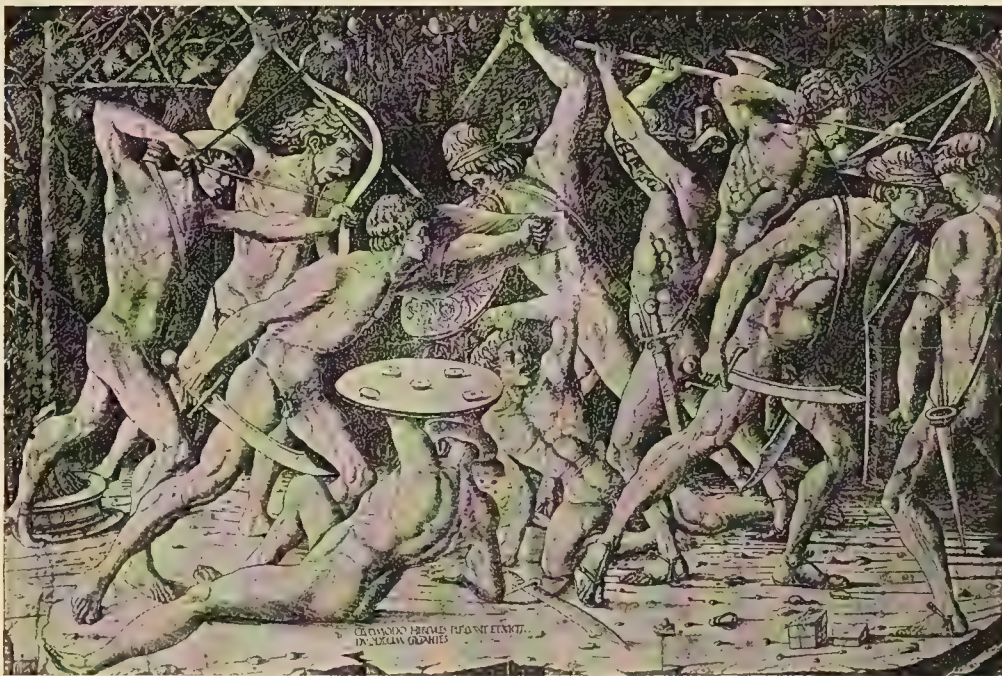
⁴ B. Berenson, *Drawings of the Florentine Masters*, vol. I, p. 29.

⁵ M. Cruttwell, *Antonio Pollaiuolo*, p. 76.

⁶ T. Borenius, *Four Early Florentine Engravers*, p. 9.



2. The Battle of the Ten Nudes. Sachs Collection, Cambridge, Massachusetts



3. Hercules and the Giants. Engraving (Second State).
Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum



4. Hercules and the Giants. Engraving (First State).
After Calcographical Society Facsimile



5. A Prisoner Brought before a Judge. Drawing. London, British Museum

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unexplained spear, the point of which is seen above the man with the sword, indubitable proof that there was more to the composition than appears in the engraving. Evidently the engraver took a part of an original cartoon by Pollaiuolo — just what proportion remains for conjecture. He clipped in his plate the quarter of an inch of the right margin which still remains in the drawing and then proceeded in labored imitation of Pollaiuolo's great engraving of the Ten Nudes (Fig. 2). He put in a foliate screen behind the figures, stratified the ground, and added hatching in light and shade to model the figures. He clumsily attempted to alter the character of the line, which in the drawing is as boldly synthetic as that of Picasso or Euthimides, in order to make it resemble the anatomizing contours in the Ten Nudes. There is further bungling. He seems to have been puzzled by the confusion of hands and weapons in the upper right-hand corner, which in the first state (Fig. 4) is left unfinished. He has illogically included the spear, although he has omitted the arm that hurls it; and he has engraved the bow without leaving room for the hand with the dirk. In the second state (Fig. 3) he has put in this hand above the bow, which remains in front of the dirk in spite of the fact that the bowman is in the background of the picture. He has also added in the second state the inscriptions: on the foreground *Quomodo-Hercules-Percussit-et-Vicit-Duodecim-Gigantes*, and on the scabbard of the man wielding the axe the explanatory *Hercules*. Both inscriptions, as we shall see, are unconvincing. Instead of a combat of one against twelve, we find engaged in mutual and indiscriminate slaughter only ten figures, one of which seems arbitrarily labelled Hercules. Before trying to explain this discrepancy let us attempt a reconstruction of Pollaiuolo's original design.

A compositional comparison of the Hercules with the Ten Nudes is suggestive. The design of the Ten Nudes (Fig. 2), whether we consider it as a study in volumes or in movement or merely as pattern, though subtly asymmetrical, is almost perfectly balanced. The arabesque of fighting men terminates definitely at either side with the figure who faces in upon his comrades. Beyond each is a definite margin of foliate background. These qualities of centralization through balance and entire inclusion of figures within the frame are consistently present throughout Pollaiuolo's thirty or more elaborate figure compositions, including the Duomo embroideries, except where dramatic contingencies prevent, and most conspicuously in the mechanically symmetrical St. Sebastian of the National Gallery. Let us now apply these principles to our reconstruction, using the Hercules engraving as a basis. As it stands, the left margin seems final, with no figures implied beyond it, whereas the right, as we have seen, abruptly bisects the man with the dirk. In a vain attempt to suggest a termination of the composition on this side he has naively drawn the edge of a cliff behind this figure, ignoring the fact

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that the right leg would be waving over an abyss. The remaining nine figures fall into two groups. The four figures at the left form a quarter-wheel, with spokes which fall in toward the centre of the plate. Then comes a group of five, centrifugal in action, with the figure labelled Hercules as the core. Finally comes the isolated figure with the dirk who, if we gave him three companions rushing in from the right, would balance the four at the left. One of these three implied figures hurls the spear which so embarrassed the engraver. There would then be (Fig. 6) ¹ the group of five in the centre, countered and buttressed by a group of four on either side, an arrangement which would conform to Pollaiuolo's compositional formulae. It would, moreover, bring the number of figures to thirteen, making the axe-wielder the centre of balance, the true pivot of the composition, thereby explaining in part why this figure was chosen to play the protagonist and why the inscription should mention thirteen figures when only ten were represented. (A desire to imitate the Ten Nudes may have caused the engraver to destroy the logic both of his inscription and of Pollaiuolo's design. By cutting off three figures he reduced the length of the composition so that it conformed to the proportions of the Ten Nudes, at the same time diminishing the number of figures from thirteen to ten in further imitation. On the other hand, the present right-hand margin of the Harvard fragment suggests that the original cartoon may already have been deprived of three figures before coming into the hands of the engraver. In any case, the length of our reconstructed cartoon would be too great to have been attempted on a single copper plate.)

We may now turn to the other two members of this tentative group of three compositions, one of which we have seen partially preserved in the Harvard drawing and the Hercules engraving. A second, the British Museum drawing (Fig. 5), is linked to that composition by its likeness to the Harvard drawing in medium and technique. The third, the Ten Nudes, is the model for the Hercules engraving in technique, while the close similarity in subject-matter scarcely need be emphasized. All three compositions, indeed, are composed of naked athletes, with like weapons and with unkempt hair bound sometimes by fillets ending in curling strands. Furthermore, in spite of the fact that Pollaiuolo was a famous master of anatomy, nearly half of these figures are distorted for purposes of design. Arms and shoulders which normally would be foreshortened are drawn in simple profile so that they count more decisively as repeated motives in the decorative pattern. Finally — and most convincing to the writer — are the facts that in all three compositions

¹ In drawing the reconstruction the writer has translated the Hercules engraving into the medium of the Harvard and British Museum drawings and added the three figures implied both by the inscription and the composition of the engraving. The top and bottom margins have been increased to include the figures completely, bringing the height to that of the Ten Nudes, 41.5 cm. The value contrasts have been increased for the sake of clarity.

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the figures are the same *actual* size, except of course those in the background, and that the ground line divides each picture at a little over one third its height, implying the same perspective level for the trio.

The all-over dimensions of the three do not conform so conveniently. The engraving of the Ten Nudes is 41.5 cm. in height; the engraving of the Hercules and the British Museum drawing are both about 37 cm. high. Both of the latter, however, show definite evidence of having been cut down. In the Hercules (Fig. 3) the figures seem crowded in comparison with the Ten Nudes; the upper and lower margins cut through a spear shaft, the hilt of a dirk, and a combatant's heel.¹ The British Museum drawing has lost its entire bottom margin; the present repaired margin defines only the lowermost projection of a long irregular tear. The height of these two compositions was therefore probably about that of the Ten Nudes. The length of the British Museum drawing is 69.5 cm., that of the Hercules engraving, only 55.4 cm. If, however, our reconstruction of the latter be correct, the three additional figures would increase the length to about that of the drawing. The Ten Nudes is 61.3 cm. long, but the discrepancy is not serious since variations in the length of compositions in a horizontal series are not at all unlikely. Furthermore, the Ten Nudes is by the master himself, who may have altered his original composition in the derivative engraving. This would explain also the emphatic muscular contours of the engraving, which in the hypothetical cartoon were probably as simplified as they are in the British Museum and Harvard drawings. These cartoons were primarily decorative; the engravings were made to fill the very great demand among painters for Pollaiuolo's studies of the nude.

Have we not, then, in these four works evidence of an important series of decorative pictures by Pollaiuolo? The cartoons were perhaps to have been enlarged to the scale of the Arcetri frescoes, which the remnants, the two drawings, so much resemble in character. Without alteration they would have been of a convenient size for the panels of a *cassone*, though the content of the scenes would not have been entirely appropriate. Or, more likely, they may have been intended as studies for *spalliere*, small panels arranged as a frieze around the wall at about shoulder height. Whether or not the original purpose was fulfilled is beyond our knowledge, but the subsequent fate of some of the cartoons may be conjectured. One of these we have in the British Museum drawing. A second, if our hypothesis be not too slender, was adapted by Pollaiuolo himself for his engraving of the Ten Nudes. Three quarters of a third we find badly garbled in the Hercules engraving, while a fragment of the original exists in the Harvard drawing.

The subject of this hypothetical series is puzzling — perhaps because there

¹ See note 3.

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was none. The lost units of the series, if there were any, would doubtless give us some clue. Thus far, to my knowledge, no legend has been attached plausibly to the British Museum drawing, nor has the Ten Nudes been interpreted as other than a fight of gladiators. The Hercules engraving, it is true, is courageously inscribed by the engraver, but upon insufficient grounds. The design is a study, as it were, in abstract figure composition, without any dramatic or narrative intention. What, one wonders, distinguishes Hercules besides his axial position? Where are the club and lion's skin, so well known in Pollaiuolo's *bottega*? What distinguishes the giants from ordinary warriors? And, finally, is a battle with twelve giants part of the Hercules myth? Hercules is supposed to have aided the gods against the giants, but they were overcome in single combat, nor is their number ordinarily designated.¹ There is also record of his having conquered Neleus and his eleven sons, which gives the desired total of thirteen, but contradicts the rest of the title without explaining the indiscriminate nature of the combat.

Does it not seem probable that the title was added in the second state almost as an afterthought — perhaps to catch the eye of the amateur humanist at a time when the rage for the antique was at its height and before collectors were too meticulous about their mythology? The name Hercules was suggested possibly by his frequent occurrence in Pollaiuolo's work; *duodecim*, by the number of figures in the original cartoon, which was probably itself well known at the time. Before leaving the matter one might hazard a guess that the story of Cadmus may have been Pollaiuolo's inspiration. Certainly the two engravings suggest the episode of the dragon's teeth, with its miraculous warriors whose brief lives are entirely concerned with mutual annihilation, enthusiastic and complete.

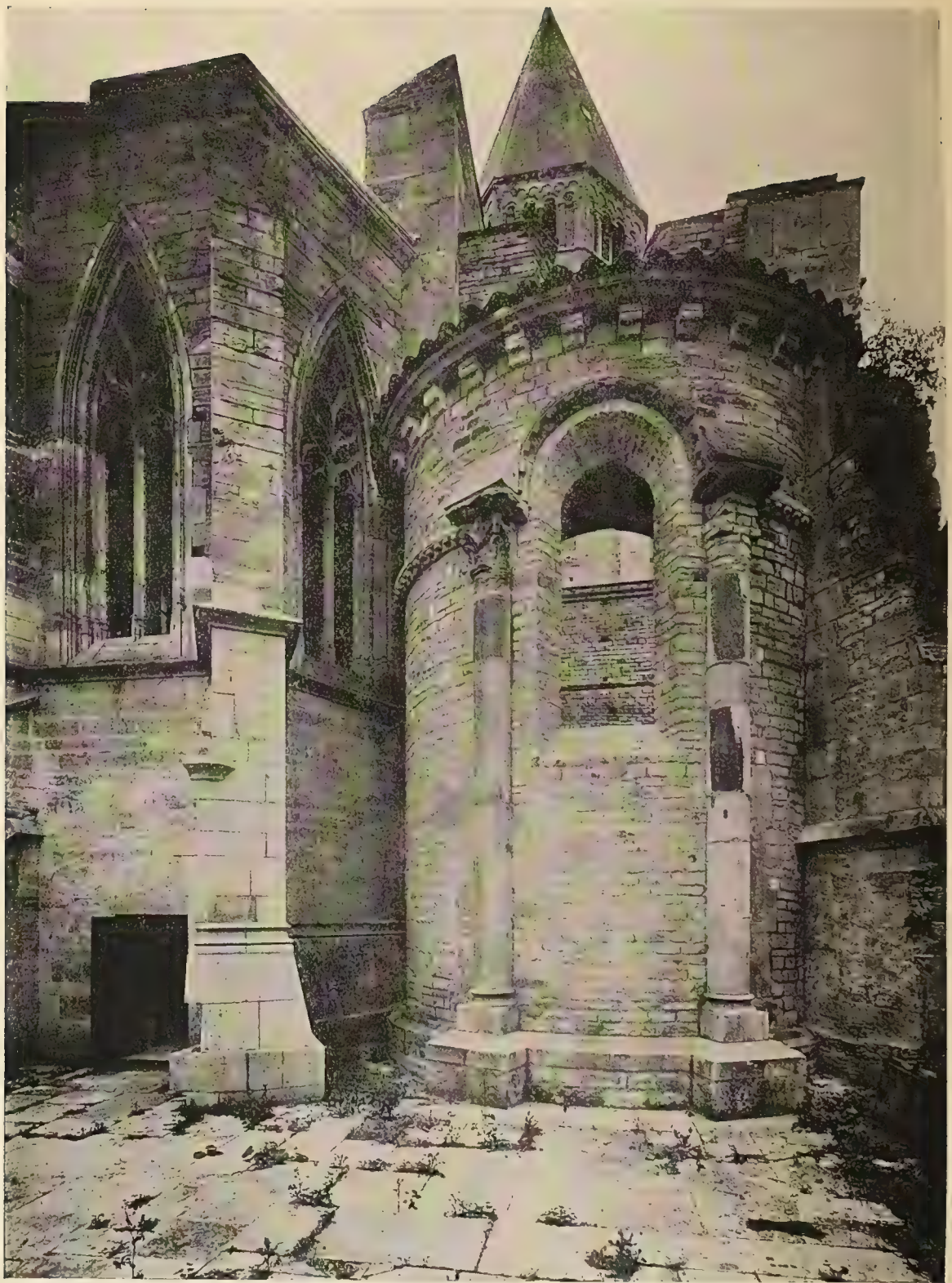
After a considerable study of his work one cannot refrain from pointing out a frequent injustice to Pollaiuolo's genius. Like his artistic forbear, Uccello, he has too often been relegated to the limbo of those great technicians who sacrificed art to science, ideal beauty to realistic truth. Yet Uccello, who babbled in his sleep of perspective, and Pollaiuolo, famous for his athletic draftsmanship, were, each in his generation, among the foremost of Florentines in their sense for original and splendid monumental decoration.

¹ Pietro Bassi's *Le Fatiche d'Ercole*, of 1475, would possibly shed light on the problem. It is not available in America. Boccaccio's *De genealogis deorum gentilium* was searched in vain.



6. Restoration of Lost Composition by Pollaiuolo, based on the Harvard Drawing and the Hercules Engraving. (Supposed Original about 41.5 x 70 cm.)

PARAY-LE-MONIAL ET CLUNY



1. Cluny. Abbaye

PARAY-LE-MONIAL ET CLUNY

PAR C. OURSEL

TOUTE l'histoire de l'architecture romane de Bourgogne est dominée par le nom de Cluny. Il est facile, dans cette province, de mesurer la véritable révolution opérée par la construction de la grande abbatale St.-Pierre et St.-Paul qu'entreprit l'abbé Hugues de Semur. Depuis la fin du dixième siècle et tout au long du onzième siècle, les essais s'étaient multipliés, les édifices dressés, ceux qu'il est convenu d'appeler lombards ou du type lombard. Ils ont marqué à l'origine un progrès considérable; puis l'art s'est en apparence à peu près stabilisé, et les variantes introduites, si appréciables qu'elles soient, manifestent une marche lente dans une voie tracée, un peu monotone, et sans grande perspective.

Avec Cluny et saint Hugues, à la fin du onzième siècle et au commencement du douzième, l'horizon se découvre soudain. Une formule définitive est trouvée. L'architecture et l'élévation des églises seront monumentales: les nefs, larges et hautes, fortement éclairées, et toujours voûtées, à deux étages, auront parfois plus d'élégance que de solidité, bien que Cluny, après la réfection de 1125, ait fait preuve d'une stabilité durable. Mais personne ne peut contester l'allure imposante de ces beaux édifices; un décor abondant, soit par l'usage des pilastres cannelés qui rompent la monotonie et rappellent l'antique, soit par l'emploi d'une sculpture répandue à profusion, complète la magnificence de ces églises. Un art complet dans tous ses éléments est élaboré, et c'est Cluny qui a donné le branle et le modèle.

Il a fallu bien peu d'années pour dresser et terminer la grande abbatale. C'est en vain qu'on a voulu ratiociner et prolonger au delà de toute vraisemblance la durée de la construction. Les textes sont formels, ne laissent place à aucune ambiguïté, et c'est le mérite de M. le Professeur A. Kingsley Porter de leur avoir rendu toute leur valeur.¹ Le 30 septembre 1088 est posée la première pierre;² cette date, donnée par la Chronologie des abbés de Cluny dans la *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis* repose évidemment sur une tradition, sans doute sur un ancien calendrier liturgique, et il n'y a pas lieu de la contester.³ En novembre 1095 a lieu par Urbain II la consécration du grand autel et de quelques autels voisins. Coïncidence curieuse, on sait par le chroniqueur Gilon

¹ *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, t. I, pp. 80-81.

² *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, col. 1621.

³ Nous ne suivrons donc pas M. F. de Mély qui la recule à 1083; voyez *Signatures de primitifs, XI^e-XII^e siècles; de Cluny à Compostelle* (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*), 1924, t. II, pp. 6-7.

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que sept ans de survie avaient été promis au vieux moine Gauzon s'il révélait à l'abbé Hugues la vision qu'il avait eue de saint Pierre et de saint Paul traçant les plans de la nouvelle abbatale et enjoignant à saint Hugues de l'entreprendre.¹ Les croyants concluront que Gauzon vécut assez pour voir l'église en état d'être livrée partiellement au culte; les incrédules estimeront que le chroniqueur Gilon a fait une prédiction après coup; les historiens impartiaux jugeront que ce témoignage confirme la date de 1088 fixée pour le commencement des travaux.

Leur achèvement est un peu moins assuré. Une inscription de la sacristie de l'abbatale disait: "... Major ecclesia est opus anno. XXV constructore sancto Hugone, favente Henrico I^o Anglorum rege, cujus prima dedicatio ab Urbano II^o ann. MXCV; secunda dedicatio ab Innocentio II^o, ann. MCXXX."² Et c'est l'opinion que rapporte Mabillon dans son *Itinerarium burgundicum*,³ sans doute d'après l'inscription traditionnelle: "Tanta basilica . . . opus est annorum XXV." Mais Gilon, dans sa *Vie de saint Hugues*, écrit: "Omnibus ex ordine auditis, credidit fidelis pater, acquievit, incepit, et Deo juvante, talem basilicam levavit infra viginti annos, qualem si tam brevi construxisset imperator dignum admiratione putaretur."⁴ Le délai est réduit de 25 à 20 ans. Cette rapidité semble d'ailleurs admirable à l'annaliste; et cet étonnement avoué des contemporains nous incline à regarder une telle surprise comme une preuve de la réalité du fait. Près d'un siècle plus tôt, il avait fallu moins de vingt ans à l'abbé Guillaume de Volpiano pour bâtir l'église S.-Bénigne de Dijon et la rotonde qui la suivait, c'est-à-dire un monument considérable.

Les contemporains ont donc proclamé la rapide construction de Cluny. Car Gilon est bien un contemporain, comme, du reste, beaucoup des biographes de saint Hugues. Le plus connu, Hildebert de Lavardin, fut évêque du Mans de 1097 à 1125, ensuite archevêque de Tours (1125-1143), mais il était encore évêque lorsqu'il a composé sa vie de saint Hugues; lui-même déclare s'être inspiré de l'oeuvre de Gilon et d'Hézelon; or Dom Lhuillier croit que cet Hézelon n'est qu'un collaborateur de Gilon, que la biographie imitée par Hildebert de Lavardin est l'oeuvre commune de ces deux auteurs;⁵ et nous remarquerons que l'un d'eux, Hézelon, porte précisément le nom d'un des architectes de l'abbatale. S'il est bien le même personnage, si sa biographie de saint Hugues est une oeuvre commune menée avec Gilon, il faut bien convenir que le témoignage de Gilon sur la construction de l'église s'en trouve singulièrement renforcé. Quant à Rainald ou Renaud de Semur,

¹ Dom L'Huillier, *Vie de saint Hugues*, pp. 360-361.

² J. Virey, *Un ancien plan de l'abbaye de Cluny*, dans le *Millénaire de Cluny*, t. II, p. 236, n. 4.

³ *Ouvrages posthumes de D. Mabillon et de D. Ruinart*, publ. par D. Thuillier, t. II, pp. 19-24.

⁴ Dans Dom L'Huillier, *Vie de saint Hugues*, p. 606.

⁵ Dom L'Huillier, *op. cit.*, pp. 566-567; — *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, col. 413.

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autre biographe de saint Hugues, il était le propre neveu du saint; il devint abbé de Vézelay en 1106, et, lui aussi, a connu le texte de Gilon. Ce texte est donc bien, puisque le premier en date, un témoignage contemporain, de très peu postérieur à la mort de saint Hugues survenue en 1109, et qui mérite toute créance. Comment imaginer en effet que l'auteur aurait pu proférer une assertion fausse aux yeux mêmes de ses confrères de chaque jour, comment croire que son admiration pour l'église de saint Hugues ne s'applique qu'à un édifice à peine ébauché, comme on voudrait parfois nous le laisser entendre? Il est impossible de concilier l'assertion précise de Gilon avec l'opinion des archéologues qui ne veulent attribuer à saint Hugues que l'exécution du chevet de l'abbatiale, sans dépasser beaucoup vers l'ouest le grand transept ou les dernières travées de la nef.

Un autre document d'ailleurs confirme le dire de Gilon. "Onze ans après la mort de saint Hugues, écrit Dom L'Huillier,¹ le pape Calixte II fit lui-même à Cluny une enquête en règle sur les vertus et les miracles du saint abbé; enquête dont le résultat fut l'établissement du culte public et liturgique décerné au confesseur du Christ." Or le recueil des *Miracula sancti Hugonis*, après avoir rapporté la vision de Gauzon, ajoute, en termes voisins de ceux de Gilon: "Deo juvante habitationi gloriae Dei tantam ac talem basilicam intra XX annos construxit, ut capaciorne sit magnitudine, an arte mirabilior, difficile judicetur."²

La chronologie de l'abbatiale St.-Pierre et St.-Paul de Cluny est donc à nos yeux bien et nettement établie. La grande et somptueuse église est une œuvre terminée au douzième siècle commençant. Cette opinion, conforme aux textes du temps, n'a rien de paradoxal si l'on veut bien observer que chaque jour nous amène à porter à l'actif de ces premières années du douzième siècle des œuvres ou des monuments d'un art accompli qu'on eût refusé, il y a encore peu d'années, de rapporter à une période aussi reculée. S'il fallut en 1130 une seconde consécration, c'est qu'un grave accident, l'écroulement de la voûte majeure, survenu en 1125, avait nécessité d'importants travaux de réfection.

Ce long préambule et ces précisions sont, à nos yeux, indispensables à l'intelligence du second grand monument de Bourgogne qu'on doive attribuer à saint Hugues, un édifice remarquable aussi, la basilique de Paray-le-Monial, ancienne église du prieuré clunisien. C'est en effet, depuis la destruction imbécile de Cluny, l'édifice le plus représentatif de l'architecture clunisienne; édifice à peu près complet, dont l'aspect nous permet de restituer en imagination ce qu'était le chef d'œuvre de saint Hugues.

C'est en 973 que Lambert, comte de Châlon-sur-Saône, installa des Bénédictins sur son domaine de Paray. Son fils Hugues de Châlon, évêque d'Au-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. X.

² *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, col. 458.

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xerre, fit remise à Cluny, en 999, de l'abbaye ainsi fondée, qui fut réduite alors à la simple condition de prieuré, mais un prieuré richement doté. La prospérité du monastère motiva une reconstruction : les nouveaux bâtiments s'établirent sur les bords de la Bourbince, et une église nouvelle fut consacrée en 1004. On sait par ailleurs qu'au cours de travaux effectués au commencement du douzième siècle, un jeune novice fut grièvement blessé dans le chœur et miraculeusement guéri par l'abbé de Cluny, saint Hugues, alors présent, donc avant 1109. Ce sont les seules dates utiles que nous fournissent les textes. Nous en discuterons un peu plus loin l'application au monument.

Sans refaire en détail une monographie déjà faite par divers auteurs, notamment par MM. Lefèvre-Pontalis¹ et Jean Virey;² nous nous attacherons à quelques particularités caractéristiques.

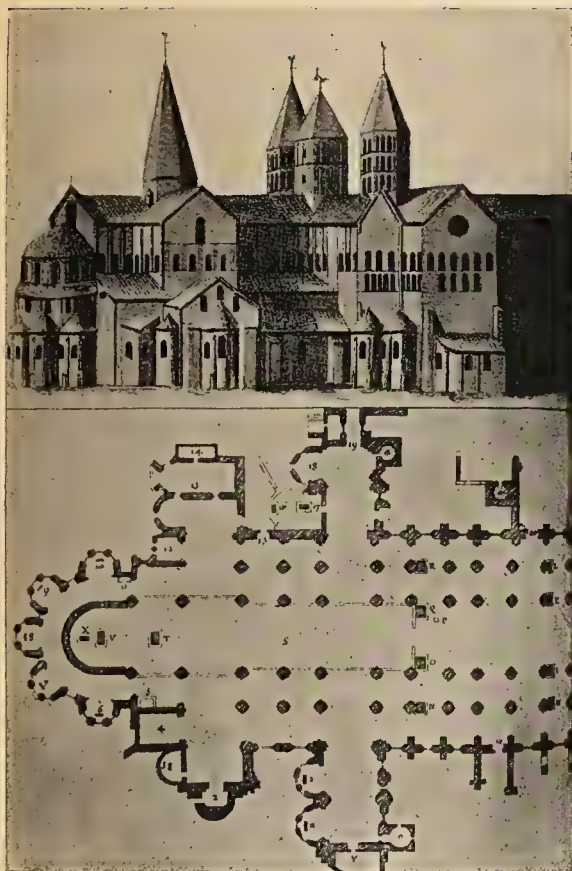
D'abord le plan. Ce qui frappe à première vue, c'est l'aspect trapu de l'édifice, et comme disproportionné. L'église est large et courte, et ne compte que trois travées. Le transept, très saillant, est suivi d'une travée de chœur avec collatéraux, puis vient l'abside. Autour de l'abside, un déambulatoire sur lequel s'ouvrent trois absidioles dont l'hémicycle est précédé d'une travée droite. Sur chaque croisillon on voit à l'est une absidiole hémicirculaire; celle de droite (côté de l'Epître) a été transformée au quinzième siècle et remplacée par une petite chapelle flamboyante. Nous constaterons en outre l'étroitesse du déambulatoire, qui ne mesure en largeur que la moitié à peu près de la largeur des collatéraux; l'usage commun est au contraire que le déambulatoire prolonge exactement les bas-côtés, par delà le transept.

Une autre anomalie n'est pas moins saisissante : le plan montre en avant un vaste narthex dont les trois travées ne correspondent ni à la nef ni aux bas-côtés de l'église; ce narthex n'est pas dans l'axe de l'édifice, si bien que le grand portail de l'église ne s'ouvre pas davantage au milieu et dans l'axe de la nef.

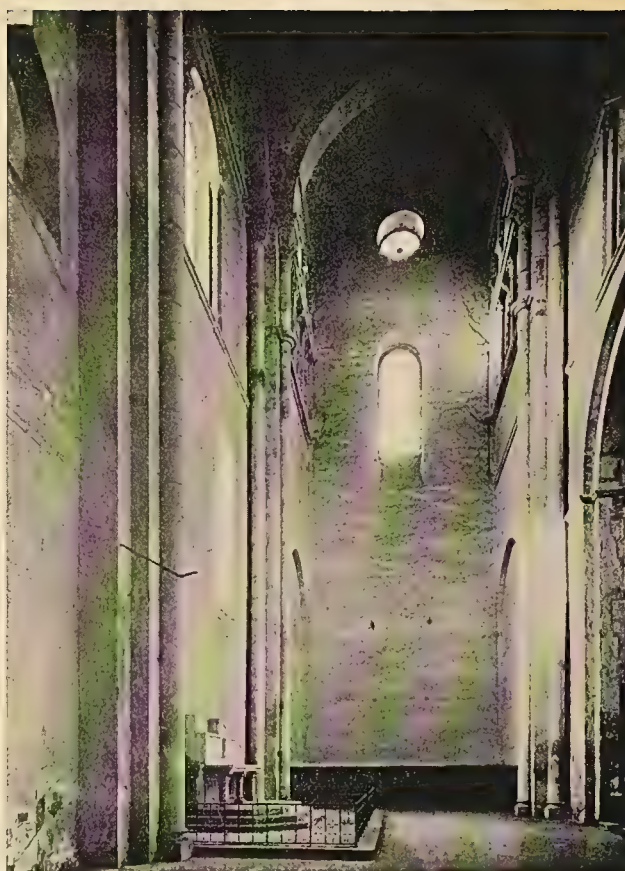
L'extérieur accuse encore plus nettement ce défaut de concordance. Lorsqu'on se place en face de l'église, le regard est arrêté par la haute silhouette des tours de façade, resserrées et élancées malgré leur masse. Se porte-t-on légèrement sur le côté pour voir l'église obliquement, aussitôt les deux tours et le narthex dont elles font partie semblent étriquées, écrasées par la nef qui s'élève haut dans le ciel. Il y a un défaut manifeste de proportion, le narthex n'est pas à l'échelle, les deux monuments sont plaqués l'un contre l'autre et n'appartiennent visiblement ni au même temps, ni à la même église.

¹ *Etude historique et archéologique sur l'église de Paray-le-Monial*, dans les *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne*, t. XIV, 1885. — *Paray-le-Monial*, dans le *Congrès archéologique de France*, 1913 (*Nevers et Moulins*).

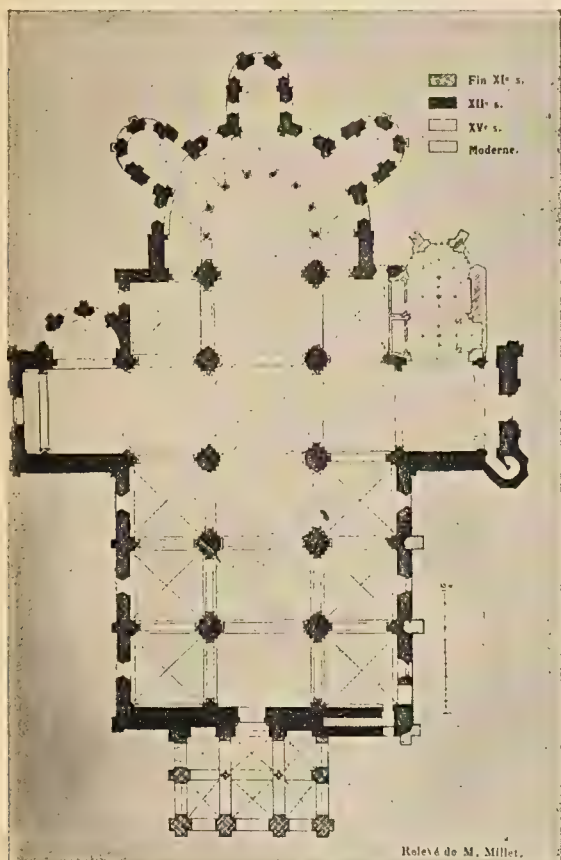
² *Paray-le-Monial et les églises du Brionnais*. — Paris, 1926 (*Petites monographies des grands édifices de la France*). Nous nous rencontrons avec l'auteur, dont l'ouvrage a paru lorsque ces lignes étaient déjà écrites, sur les données chronologiques, mais nous avons cru devoir les développer beaucoup plus amplemment.



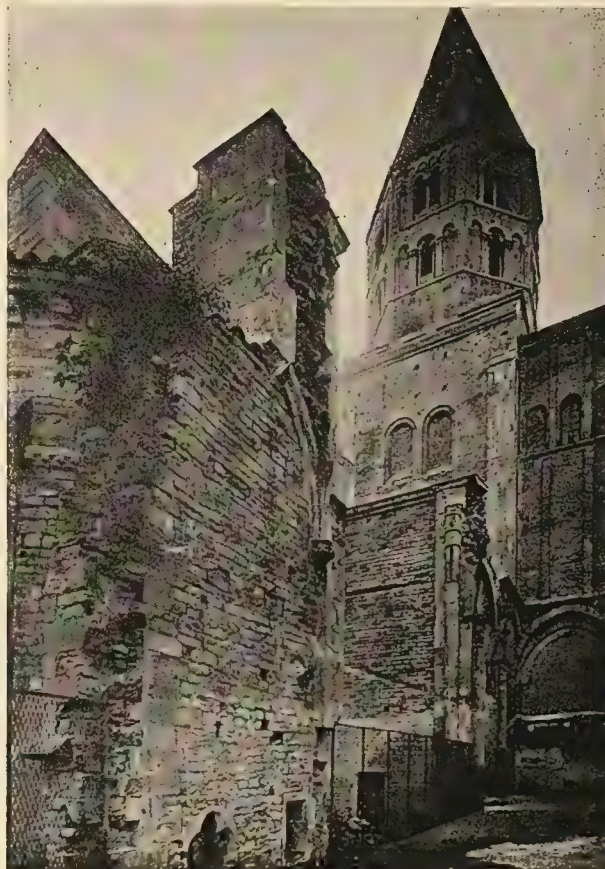
2. Cluny. Vue du Chevet. Plan du Chevet.
(Mabillon, *Annales ord. St. Bened.*, t. v)



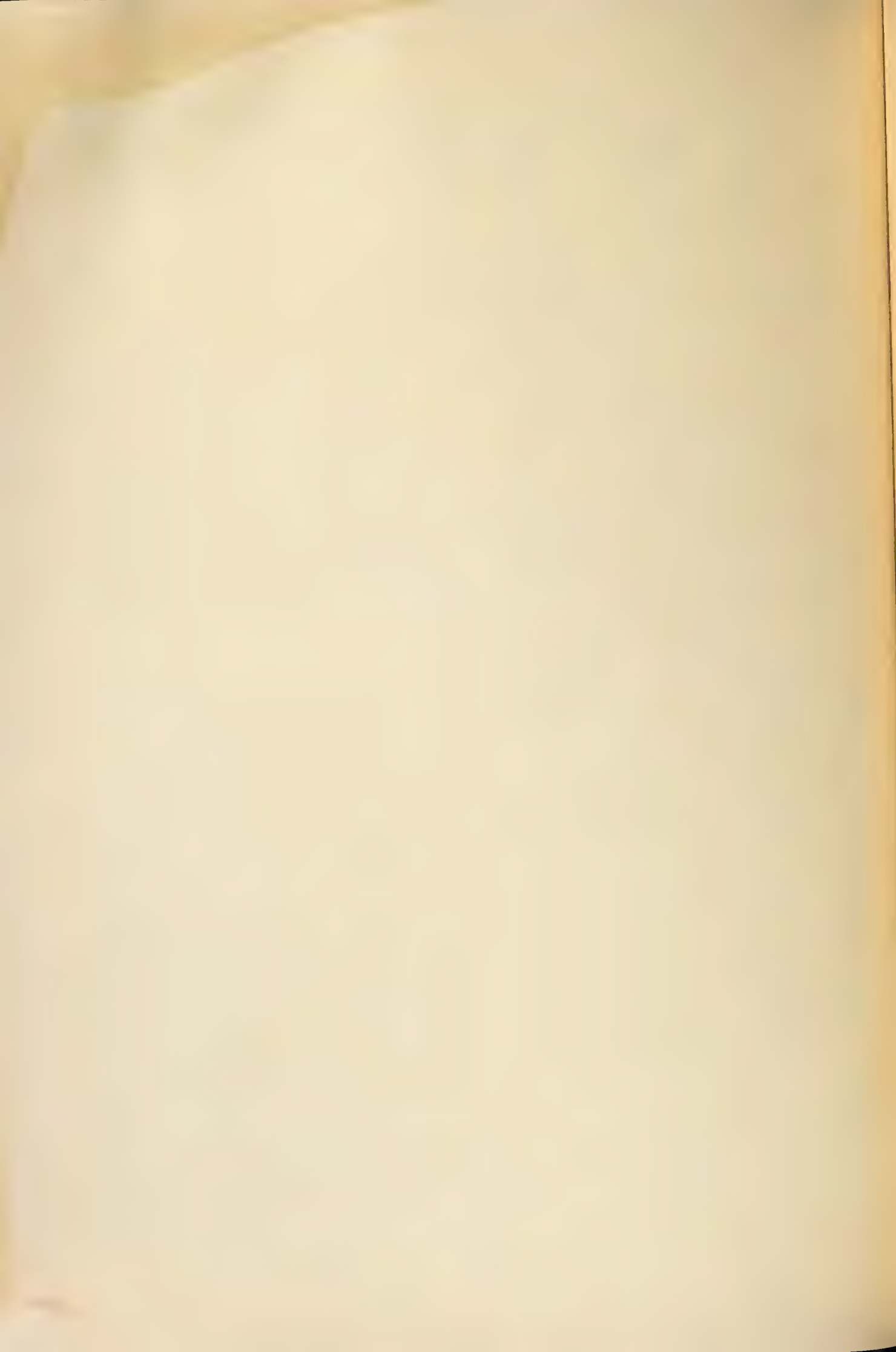
4. Cluny. Croisillon Méridional du Grand Transept.
(Arch. Phot. d'Art et d'Histoire)



3. Paray-le-Monial. Plan. (*Congrès archéol.*, 1913)



5. Cluny. Croisillon méridional du Grand Transept
et Clocher de l'Eau Bénite. (Arch. Phot.
d'Art et d'Histoire)



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Du même temps, les deux tours ne le sont pas non plus, du moins dans toute leur élévation, et leur décor est dissemblable. Toutes deux sont épaulées aux angles par des contreforts assez saillants qui s'étagent par ressauts successifs depuis le sol. Mais ceux de la tour méridionale vont s'amortir sous le cordon qui sépare le premier groupe de fenêtres jumelées de l'étage inférieur; ceux de la tour septentrionale montent un peu moins haut. La tour du midi est homogène, l'autre ne l'est pas.

Au midi, entre l'ouverture du porche et le faite du narthex, une seule ouverture, large, qui a son pendant au nord, et qui a été remaniée. Puis, au-dessus, une fenêtre étroite primitive, non ébrasée. Les deux étages supérieurs sont beaucoup plus ornés, grâce à de plus amples percements. Mais, de haut en bas, l'appareil est le même, des moellons moyens et allongés, assez peu réguliers. Les deux étages supérieurs sont identiques. Sur chacune des faces est ouverte une baie jumelée, à ressaut, dont la retombée commune se fait sur deux colonnettes placées l'une derrière l'autre et unies par un tailloir commun à saillie prononcée; les chapiteaux des colonnettes sont sculptés.

Dans la tour du nord, l'étroite fenêtre disposée entre l'amortissement des contreforts est remplacée sur chaque face par un groupe de fenêtres jumelées. Elles sont un peu différentes de celles de la tour du sud: la retombée commune se fait, non sur deux colonnettes, mais sur une pile maçonnée avec colonnette torse adossée et chapiteau sculpté pour recevoir l'archivolte. De part et d'autre de cette colonnette centrale, une colonnette d'angle, logée dans le ressaut du pied-droit, supporte la retombée extérieure de cette même archivolte. Malgré cette variante de la contexture, ces ouvertures nous semblent tout à fait contemporaines de celles de la tour méridionale, ou, du moins, ne décèlent aucun intervalle chronologique bien appréciable. Les clochers de Mazille et d'Uchizy par exemple, en Saône-et-Loire, montrent ainsi au onzième siècle des colonnettes sur dosseret ou des pilettes torses; au narthex de Tournus (début du onzième siècle au plus tard) se voient des colonnettes d'angle aux fenêtres. Et si le clavage des archivoltas, en façade, a été refait, sans doute lors de la surélévation de la tour, ce même clavage sur les fenêtres latérales est formé de menus moellons allongés, comme à la tour du sud. On peut donc conclure que la tour septentrionale, dans son état premier, ou bien ne dépassait pas ce niveau, ou que sa partie supérieure a été endommagée; et, dans cette dernière hypothèse, l'accident survenu aurait pu être la cause occasionnelle de la reconstruction de l'église entière.

En tous cas les étages supérieurs de la tour du nord sont plus jeunes que la base, soit qu'ils résultent d'un complément, soit qu'ils procèdent d'une réparation ou réfection ultérieure. Réfection ou surélévation nous semblent avoisiner le début du douzième siècle et suivre de peu, probablement, l'abside et la grande nef. On y remarque en effet l'ornementation des tailloirs et du

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bandeau mouluré qui les prolonge et qui se compose de billettes ou de besants au troisième étage, d'oves allongés horizontalement à l'étage supérieur. Billettes, besants et oves se retrouveront à l'abside et dans la nef. L'architecture de ces deux étages dénonce aussi plus de recherche, plus de souplesse et d'expérience dans l'emploi de la matière inerte, plus de raffinement: ainsi les hautes colonnes appareillées qui montent aux angles et au centre de chaque face, et curieusement incrustées, en quelque sorte, dans la maçonnerie.

L'élévation extérieure de la nef ne présente aucune particularité digne de remarque, sinon que l'épaulement des voûtes n'a nécessité aucune modification subséquente; c'est la preuve de l'excellente stabilité de la construction, malgré la hauteur déjà considérable à laquelle elle a été poussée. Au-dessus des collatéraux et de leurs contreforts monte la nef qui répète la même disposition: au rez-de-chaussée une fenêtre est percée entre deux contreforts, dans chaque travée, pour l'éclairement du bas-côté; dans le mur goutterot de la nef sont ouvertes, entre deux contreforts, trois fenêtres par travée, qui dispensent une abondante lumière à l'intérieur.

Avec les croisillons du transept, très débordants, nous arrivons à une région qui nous fournira plus d'un terme de comparaison avec la grande abbatale de Cluny, compte tenu de la différence de proportion des deux édifices; et d'abord, par exemple, la saillie même des croisillons, si fortement accusée dans les deux églises. Encore, comme au petit transept de Cluny, le pignon du croisillon nord de Paray-le-Monial, isolé de tout bâtiment monastique, montre deux étages de fenêtres voisines du faite: tout en haut, une fenêtre unique; plus bas et à peu d'intervalle, une rangée de trois fenêtres à plein cintre qui correspond à la rangée de quatre fenêtres du petit transept de Cluny. Au-dessous, dans les deux monuments, un large pan de mur nu.

Le rez-de-chaussée des croisillons, à Paray-le-Monial, est percé de portes abondamment ornées, aussi bien au nord qu'au midi; mais la porte méridionale a été en grande partie masquée par la construction ultérieure du cloître. Le portail nord, au contraire, est intact. Tous les archéologues ont été frappés de son aspect d'entrée d'un palais oriental, avec la prolixité de son décor multiple, varié dans l'équilibre sans symétrie de ses divers ajustements. Aucune ligne n'est laissée vide d'ornement, géométrique pour partie, perles, ruban ondulé, rosaces à six pétales, hélices à quatre branches, ou trèfles à quatre feuilles, oves mis bout à bout, billettes en damier, pilastres cannelés, ou colonnettes, avec chapiteaux corinthiens ou chapiteaux à fruits et feuillages sans rapport avec la tradition classique. Et toute cette sculpture ornementale, percée de trous de trépan, est en général légère et comme plaquée sans profondeur à la surface de la pierre; nous sommes loin encore des feuillages et des motifs si vigoureusement creusés et fouillés du portail de Charlieu, plus jeune de trente à quarante ans.

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Latéralement, les bras du transept, puis le chœur à la suite et en retour font voir des fenêtres hautes séparées par de minces pilastres qui rappellent une disposition analogue à Cluny; nous y reviendrons.

Mais le chevet attire impérieusement le regard: encadré par les deux croisillons très débordants qui lui procurent une ferme assise, il donne, dans la succession de ses étagements, une singulière impression de force et de puissance. Il ne lui manque aujourd'hui, du pied de l'édifice, qu'un recul suffisant pour en mesurer toute la beauté. C'est le plus magnifique ensemble de ce genre qui existe en Bourgogne. Il évoque la splendeur de Cluny, il montre quelle était la conception grandiose de l'architecte de Paray-le-Monial, quelle église il eût réalisée s'il avait pu la mener jusqu'à son complet achèvement.

Au premier plan se développe la ceinture des absidioles; elles sont percées de larges ouvertures qu'accompagne un cordon de billettes qui se prolonge sur tout le pourtour de l'hémicycle en traversant les tailloirs des colonnes-contreforts. L'étaï du mur circulaire des absidioles est en effet fourni par des colonnettes d'un bon dessin montées sur socle et stylobate et couronnées de chapiteaux à feuillages recourbés, très sobres, dérivés du corinthien; au-dessus du tailloir, un amortissement en glacis à forte pente. Ces colonnes-contreforts ne sont pas, à l'époque que nous assignons à la basilique, d'un emploi très courant en Bourgogne; on peut leur reconnaître en quelque manière le caractère d'une signature, comme nous le verrons un peu plus loin. Plus haut que le cintre de l'absidiole apparaît le pignon de la travée droite qui le précède comme un petit chœur réduit, selon un plan qui rappelle l'Auvergne; et le roman d'Auvergne a, comme on le sait, plus d'un trait commun avec l'architecture de Cluny et de la Bourgogne, ce qui s'explique très aisément par les origines de la grande abbaye, par les liens de famille de quelques-uns de ses grands abbés. Plus haut encore se profile la galerie tournante du déambulatoire épaulée par des contreforts peu saillants, percée de larges fenêtres.

Puis la grande abside surmonte le toit du déambulatoire. Son pourtour, qui domine ce premier ensemble, a été orné avec beaucoup de soin. Entre chaque fenêtre, on a disposé un court pilastre cannelé avec chapiteau garni de feuilles à volutes simples. De l'un à l'autre pilastre, une archivolté munie de besants encadre chaque ouverture. Enfin, sous la corniche, une petite arcature très régulière est une réminiscence des arcatures lombardes, et elle offre un dessin plus ouvragé que l'arcature supérieure de la tour nord de façade.

On devrait ensuite voir se dessiner très nettement le pignon de la travée de chœur qui précède l'abside. Et, en effet, il apparaît bien, mais les ouvertures qui l'éclairent, une fenêtre à plein cintre et deux oculi curieusement polylobés de part et d'autre, affleurent juste le toit de l'abside. C'est qu'en effet cette toiture n'est manifestement pas primitive. Tandis que tous les

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toits de la région absidale, ceux des croisillons et ceux de la nef reposent directement sur les reins des voûtes et sont à très faible pente (il en était de même à Cluny), en sorte qu'ils ont pu être recouverts de tuiles creuses, seul le toit de l'abside a reçu une charpente et des tuiles plates. Il est certain que cette charpente est une modification de la disposition première. Si elle facilite l'entretien de la voûte, elle rompt un peu l'équilibre de la perspective, elle masque légèrement la fenêtre de la travée de chœur, et mord sur la bordure des oculi.

Enfin, au-dessus de la travée de chœur se dresse le clocher octogonal, à la vérité en partie moderne. Il repose sur un soubassement carré et passe à l'octogone au moyen de trompes. Seul le premier étage est ancien. Il comporte sur chaque face une fenêtre géminée à bordure torique; la retombée du tore de l'archivolte se fait au centre sur deux colonnettes jumelées, de part et d'autre sur une colonnette semblable, avec chapiteaux garnis de feuilles d'eau comme ceux des absidioles. Au XIV^e siècle, le second étage, complété ou remanié, reçut des fenêtres à remplage gothique, puis, au commencement du dix-neuvième siècle un horrible couronnement à dôme. Lors de la restauration par le service des Monuments Historiques, commencée en 1856, M. Millet a heureusement restitué le deuxième étage sur le modèle du premier, mais il a fâcheusement adopté une pyramide terminale un peu trop élancée pour le commencement du douzième siècle. Il eût mieux fait de s'inspirer du clocher de l'Eau bénite à Cluny.

Ayant ainsi sommairement décrit l'aspect extérieur de la basilique, il est temps de pénétrer à l'intérieur. Le narthex ne nous arrêtera pas. C'est un avant corps à deux étages, fermé sur les côtés au rez-de-chaussée. Le rez-de-chaussée avait subi de graves dommages: un incendie, allumé par les Protestants en 1562, avait compromis la solidité du narthex entier, obligé les moines à fourrer de maçonnerie tout ce rez-de-chaussée. L'enlèvement de cette maçonnerie contraignit l'architecte Millet à une réfection presque complète par un travail fort délicat et d'une extrême habileté technique. Lui-même a rapporté en ces termes la nature des restaurations: "Les moines avaient rempli et soutenu les arceaux mutilés par des maçonneries pleines qui en avaient ainsi changé la destination. On reconnaissait encore à travers les interstices du remplissage des vestiges de colonnes et de chapiteaux. Ces précieux restes, mis à jour, ont servi de modèles aux sculpteurs chargés de les rétablir. Mais les sculptures de la porte ouvrant dans l'intérieur se retrouvèrent dans un état de conservation parfaite: une muraille continue, élevée depuis près de trois siècles dans l'embrasure, les avait préservées. . . . Le crédit de 82.000 fr. a permis . . . de reconstruire en sous-œuvre toute la partie basse du narthex. . . ." ¹ Ce rez-de-chaussée comporte une nef de deux

¹ Notice de M. Millet dans les *Archives des Monuments historiques*, 1ère série, t. I.

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travées avec collatéraux, le tout voûté d'arêtes avec arcs doubleaux. L'étage prend jour sur l'extérieur et ouvrait aussi sur la nef ancienne sans aucun doute; il comprend une nef en berceau avec collatéraux; les piles en sont cruciformes, sans chapiteaux, avec un simple tailloir en biseau.

La porte d'entrée de l'église franchie, l'impression reçue est mêlée de déception et d'admiration. Cette déception, nous en connaissons la cause, l'interruption des travaux qui a raccourci l'édifice et modifié les proportions; elle n'est pas imputable à l'architecte primitif; efforçons-nous donc de restituer en pensée ce qu'il avait projeté à la lumière de ce qu'il a réalisé, et nous rendrons pleine justice à son mérite.

Dans son état actuel, de l'entrée au fond de l'absidiole centrale, l'église mesure 54 mètres. La nef s'élève à 22 mètres, les collatéraux à 12 m., la coupole de la croisée à 25½ m. De cette église, la description est nécessaire: tâche aride et sèche en apparence, indispensable cependant si l'on en croit le mot de La Bruyère: "Ce sont les faits qui louent." Les faits, ce sont ici les détails raisonnés et combinés de la construction.

La nef est couverte d'une voûte en blocage avec enduit, en forme de berceau brisé soutenu par des doubleaux simples, sans ressaut. La brisure réduit la poussée de la voûte, on le sait, et les architectes bourguignons n'ont pas manqué de discerner cette qualité; mais elle n'assure pas seulement l'équilibre, elle donne plus d'élancement au vaisseau. Il est ou il paraît certain que cet avantage a été l'un des motifs de la prédilection des Bourguignons pour le berceau brisé. Les grandes arcades sont de même en arc brisé, à ressaut; l'arête extérieure, abattue, est ornée d'un riche et sobre motif d'oves allongés et enrubannés, qui en rompent la sécheresse. Au dessus, un bandeau mouluré court tout le long de la nef, des croisillons, du chœur et de l'abside en ceinturant piles et colonnes, et cette saillie prononcée forme l'assise de l'étage du triforium. A la vérité, ce triforium n'est, comme généralement en Bourgogne, qu'un faux triforium juxtaposant trois fenêtres aveugles dans une arcature sur le parement du mur. Les fausses fenêtres sont séparées l'une de l'autre par d'élégants pilastres cannelés, avec chapiteaux à feuillages très simples et schématiquement stylisés, sans maigreur. Les tailloirs des pilastres et, dans l'intervalle, des consoles d'un pur dessin supportent un second bandeau mouluré, symétrique au premier, fortement saillant, et qui marque la naissance d'un nouvel étage et d'un nouvel ordre d'architecture. Celui-ci est formé, non plus de pilastres cannelés, mais de deux colonnettes jumelées ou d'une colonnette d'angle, sur lesquelles retombent les archivoltes toriques qui accompagnent les trois fenêtres à plein cintre auxquelles est dévolu l'abondant éclairage de la nef. Un nouveau bandeau mouluré, celui-là sans consoles et plus discret, au niveau des tailloirs des colonnettes supérieures, accuse sans insister la naissance de la voûte.

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Même ordonnance dans les croisillons du transept, sauf une variante logique et rationnelle: l'ouverture de l'absidiole, à l'est, est faite d'un arc en plein cintre qui accompagne la naissance du cul-de-four, et plus bas que la grande arcade voisine qui, elle, ouvre le collatéral du chœur.

La croisée du transept est couverte d'une coupole octogonale sur trompes, selon la technique acclimatée en Bourgogne. Au delà, la travée de chœur reproduit exactement la disposition des travées de la nef, et elle est en outre éclairée dans l'axe par une fenêtre haute et deux oculi qui garnissent utilement le mur supérieur surmontant la naissance du-cul-de-four absidal. Peut-être aussi la lumière plus abondamment répandue par ces ouvertures devait-elle atténuer légèrement le décrochement produit par le cul-de-four de la grande abside, monté à un niveau légèrement inférieur.

Dans la nef comme dans le chœur, les piles sont cruciformes et cantonnées sur trois faces d'une colonnette engagée avec chapiteaux sculptés d'acanthes, de feuillages ou d'animaux affrontés. Vers la nef, au lieu d'une colonne engagée, on voit au rez-de-chaussée un pilastre cannelé avec chapiteau corinthien; de la naissance des grandes arcades au faux triforium, un autre pilastre se superpose au premier et il est accompagné d'une colonnette dans le ressaut; au-dessus, aux deux étages du faux triforium et des hautes fenêtres, c'est une simple colonne à chapiteau sculpté qui continue le pilastre et reçoit le doubleau. Dans le transept, une colonne engagée monte de fond jusqu'au doubleau.

L'abside et le déambulatoire ne sont ni moins étudiés ni moins heureux. L'abside est couverte d'un cul-de-four brisé. Huit colonnes monolithes de mince diamètre, montées sur une plinthe assez haute, supportent l'hémicycle et lui donnent un aspect de grande légèreté; des feuillages, des animaux affrontés sont sculptés sur les chapiteaux. Les tailloirs reçoivent la retombée d'arcades en plein cintre dont l'archivolte est ornée du même motif d'oves enrubannés que nous avons rencontré dans la nef. Au-dessus de la paroi nue qui surmonte les arcades de l'abside, un cordon mouluré posé sur une rangée de petites arcatures semblables à celles qui se voient sous la corniche, à l'extérieur, marque la naissance et l'appui de neuf fenêtres à plein cintre éclairant largement cette région. Les archivoltas de ces fenêtres sont décorées de billettes en damier, et elles retombent sur des colonnettes jumelées avec chapiteaux sculptés et à tailloir commun. Enfin un dernier cordon mouluré indique la naissance du cul-de-four et accuse ainsi très nettement, selon la pratique commune à Paray-le-Monial, les divers étages de l'élévation.

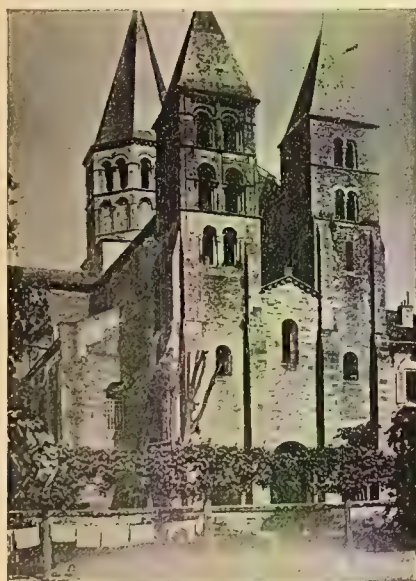
Le déambulatoire est précédé d'une travée collatérale du chœur, prolongeant exactement les bas-côtés. Mais lui-même se rétrécit sensiblement sans que cependant la perspective soit rompue, grâce à cette travée intermédiaire qui amortit le décrochement, par-delà le transept. Des doubleaux en tiers-



6. Paray-le-Monial. Déambulatoire. (Arch. Phot. d'Art et d'Histoire)



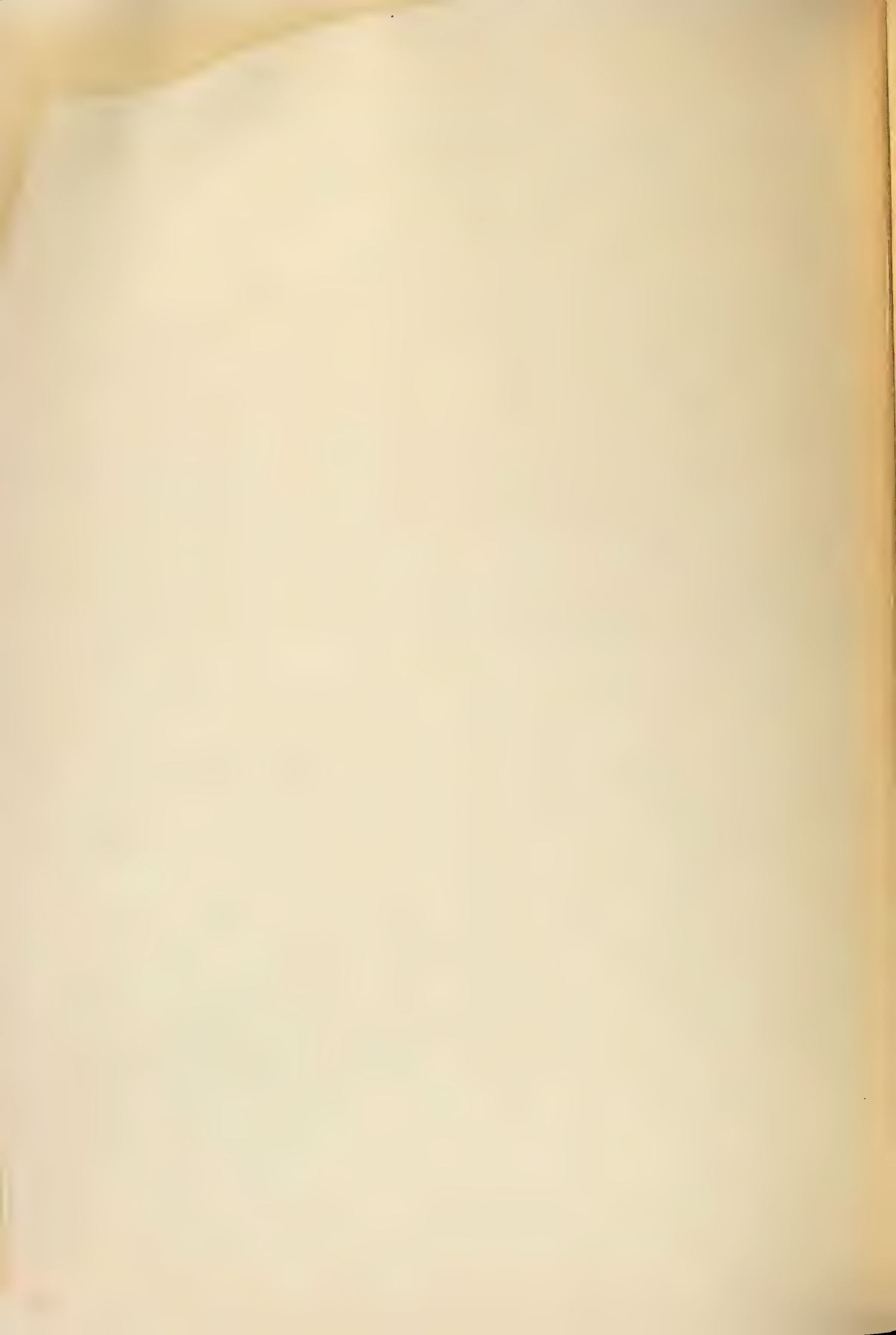
7. Paray-le-Monial. Transept et Abside. (Arch. Phot. d'Art et d'Histoire)



8. Paray-le-Monial. Façade. (Arch. Phot. d'Art et d'Histoire)



9. Paray-le-Monial. (Arch. Phot. d'Art et d'Histoire)



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point séparent les travées couvertes de voûtes d'arêtes. Tout le pourtour, au rez-de-chaussée, est garni d'une arcature dont l'archivolte, largement accusée, est ornée de billettes en damier. Ces arcs successifs jouent le rôle d'arcs de décharge et permettent d'ajourer le mur en perçant les fenêtres, en ouvrant les absidioles. Les retombées voisines se font sur un pilastre cannelé unique, avec chapiteau de feuillages très refouillés et d'allure classique; le pilastre repose sur une plinthe qui tourne tout autour du mur. Au dessus de ce pilastre, et dans l'écoinçon de deux arcatures voisines, une console porte deux colonnes jumelées avec chapiteaux à feuilles d'eau, et dont le tailloir unique reçoit les arcs doubleaux. C'est donc ici, comme dans la nef, ce même parti qui varie les ordres dans leur superposition, en les conjuguant avec un sens esthétique très sûr, avec la franchise d'un technicien qui souligne nettement le plan qu'il a choisi. C'est que, en effet, nous avons bien ici un étage de fenêtres supérieures, logées dans la lunette de la voûte d'arêtes, fenêtres très simples, sans décor, simplement destinées à diffuser une lumière plus abondante dans une région presque toujours sombre; une telle disposition est rare en effet. Par ailleurs, les bandeaux moulurés dont l'architecte a fait un si heureux emploi dans l'édifice, jouent aussi leur rôle dans cette partie de l'église: prolongés au niveau des tailloirs des pilastres et des colonnettes, ils relient, au rez-de-chaussée, les sommiers des arcs et des fenêtres, dans le déambulatoire et dans les absidioles, ils forment appui aux fenêtres supérieures du déambulatoire. Et les fenêtres du rez-de-chaussée, au déambulatoire et dans les absidioles, comme dans les bas-côtés de la nef sont cantonnées de colonnettes qui amortissent le ressaut des pieds-droits, selon un mode ornemental très-courant, aussi logique que plaisant.

Ainsi rien n'est omis dans le détail de ce qui peut contribuer à donner le sentiment d'un monument complet et achevé, dans lequel rien n'est laissé au hasard. C'est ce qu'un artiste archéologue, Ed. Jeannez,¹ a exprimé dans une formule saisissante: "Aucune des monographies de l'église, écrit-il, ne nous semble avoir suffisamment insisté sur la *beauté décorative* propre à cet édifice et sur les moyens spéciaux mis en œuvre pour la réaliser. On a fait à Paray de la *décoration sans décors*, le mot décors étant pris dans le sens d'ornement. . . . L'impression d'élégance qu'on y ressent n'est en réalité qu'une *harmonie*."

La cause en est aisée à concevoir: c'est l'extrême probité de l'architecture: pas de faux-semblants, le respect absolu des lignes essentielles, la volonté de les marquer clairement sans s'y appesantir mais de telle manière que l'intelligence comprenne sans effort; pas de recherche subtile et raffinée dans l'ornement, mais l'emploi de modes toujours simples et clairs à des endroits choisis et désignés par la logique pour atténuer et adoucir les formes sans les anémier

¹ Notice sur Paray-le-Monial dans Thiollier, *L'art roman à Charlieu et en Brionnais*, éd. in-4°, pp. 82-83.

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ni leur rien retirer de leur substance; une entente parfaite de quelques procédés traditionnels, comme la superposition des ordres, systématiquement adoptée, pour varier la structure sans la dissimuler; une adaptation des souvenirs classiques, comme les pilastres cannelés, qui relie l'édifice aux monuments laissés en Occident par la civilisation antique, source constante de toute renaissance; un usage judicieux et réfléchi de toutes les méthodes techniques expérimentées par l'effort constructif d'un siècle entier; une lumière abondante diffusée dans toutes les parties de l'église, qui met en valeur les lignes et les détails, et qui prouve que les artistes romans ont su éclairer leurs édifices; une perspective qui calcule exactement ses effets; la quiétude de l'esprit devant un monument stable et bien équilibré; tout concourt au chef d'œuvre.

Le terme n'est pas trop fort, si l'on entend par là la perfection d'un genre. Il ne l'est même pas si l'on considère l'ensemble des grandes œuvres fameuses de l'architecture. Mais qui l'a conçu, qui en est responsable? Longtemps on a voulu l'ignorer, parce que le monument a été mal daté. Seul, et tout récemment, M. Jean Virey a sommairement restitué l'église au temps qui lui doit être assigné.

Comme pour Cluny, c'est faute d'avoir correctement interprété les documents, faute aussi d'avoir écarté de prétendues analogies, que les archéologues ont pu se méprendre. A la vérité, nous avons sur la construction de Paray-le-Monial des témoignages précis qui, coïncidence singulière, sont les mêmes que pour Cluny.

En effet, le biographe de saint Hugues de Semur, ce Gilon que nous avons déjà rencontré, narre en ces termes un miracle accompli par l'abbé de Cluny et dont le chroniqueur a pu avoir connaissance malgré le soin que mettait l'abbé, par humilité, à cacher les prodiges que Dieu accomplissait par lui: "*Hoc nempe causa exstitit ut plurima ejus miracula supprimerentur. Tali si quidem modo occultatum fuit, quod apud Paredum fecit pietatis exhibitor. Turris in quam signa in medio dependentia consistunt compage soluta puerum scholarum qui suberat pene exstinxit; tabula enim de culmine ipsius collapsa innocentem percussit, stravit, et, ut videbatur, exanimavit. Dolorem impendunt qui consulere nesciunt; nuntiantque patri puerum jam exstinctum qui in militie spiritualis procinctu vix vivere inchoasset. Accessit pius visitor, et corpusculo confracto adhibens fomentum celestis gratie ad membra emortua tenuem flatum revocavit. Protinus decumbentem in statum erigens nomine conclamatum suo excitavit et pristina sanitati restituit. Hoc quoque ad notitiam nostram pervenit, eo revelante qui prestitit.*"¹

Hildebert de Lavardin, autre biographe de saint Hugues, se contente de dépouiller l'original de Gilon, dont il s'est inspiré, de sa grâce naïve pour le

¹ Gilon, *Vita Hugonis* in Dom L'Huillier, *Vie de Saint Hugues*, p. 597.

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parer des ornements de la rhétorique et d'une langue plus recherchée.¹ Mais Renaud ou Rainald de Semur, abbé de Vézelay, le troisième des auteurs dont nous avons eu à invoquer le témoignage un peu plus haut, sans connaître, il semble, le texte de Gilon, complète le récit de ce chroniqueur par quelques détails importants et caractéristiques. On doit supposer, étant le propre neveu de saint Hugues, qu'il les tient de personnages qu'il a pu interroger, de témoins du miracle encore vivants lorsqu'il écrivait. "*Puer quidam monachus apud Paredum monasterium, dum in Choro cum fratribus oraret, una de tabulis cadente, quae in lacunari turris eminentis jungebatur, contritus a vertice est. Curritur ad venerabilem patrem, qui tunc forte in altera ecclesia, Dei scilicet Genitricis, divino operi insistebat; et tam gravis collisio pueri jam pene exanimis ei nuntiatur. Qui ubi advenit, aqua benedicta faciem ejus rigat et oratione subsecuta spiritum vix palpitantem et ad exitum properantem retinuit: inde paulatim resumptis viribus sanus effectus longo tempore supervixit.*"²

Que conclure de ces récits? D'abord, et avec raison, que des travaux étaient en cours à Paray, à l'un des clochers, et même plus précisément à la grande tour de la croisée du transept, puisque la poutre atteignit un novice dans le chœur. Saint Hugues, déjà vieux, dit un autre passage des biographes, était alors à Paray, à l'église Notre-Dame; il accourt à la nouvelle de l'accident et par ses prières rappelle la victime à la vie; c'est du blessé lui-même que Gilon tient le récit du miracle. Selon M. Lefèvre-Pontalis,³ les travaux en cours auraient intéressé la vieille église du onzième siècle, celle dont la consécration eut lieu en 1004, et non l'église actuelle dont, pour lui, la construction serait d'environ 1130. Ce sont deux assertions auxquelles il nous est impossible de souscrire.

Interrogeons en effet plus attentivement l'histoire et l'édifice. L'histoire nous apprend, rappelons-le, que la fondation du monastère de Paray est l'œuvre du comte de Châlon, Lambert, et de l'abbé de Cluny saint Mayeul vers 973; elle nous rapporte aussi comment Hugues de Châlon, fils du comte Lambert, et évêque d'Auxerre, unit Paray à Cluny en 999. Or une fille de Lambert, sœur d'Hugues de Châlon, épousa Geoffroy de Semur, et c'est le neveu de l'évêque Hugues, Thibaut de Semur, qui devint ensuite comte de Châlon et mourut à la croisade d'Espagne vers 1065. D'autre part, en conséquence du mariage de sa sœur, l'évêque Hugues de Châlon était l'oncle de Dalmace de Semur (fils de Geoffroy), le propre père de saint Hugues de Semur, et il était par suite le grand oncle de cet abbé de Cluny. Nous voyons d'ailleurs l'évêque intervenir activement dans l'éducation du futur abbé: il protège et favorise sa vocation; il dirige son instruction à saint Marcel de

¹ Hildeberti . . . *Vita Hugonis*, in *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, col. 426.

² *Acta Sanctorum*, Avril III, p. 652.

³ Dans ses deux études sur Paray-le-Monial, citées plus haut.

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Châlon avant de le conduire à Cluny.¹ Ainsi les relations de famille les plus étroites existaient entre les comtes de Châlon, fondateurs de Paray-le-Monial, et les comtes de Semur-en-Brionnais desquels est issu saint Hugues abbé de Cluny. Ces relations de famille s'étaient accrues de liens personnels très intimes entre saint Hugues abbé et l'évêque d'Auxerre Hugues de Châlon, celui-là même qui unit Paray à Cluny.

Lors donc qu'on nous parle de la prédilection connue des abbés de Cluny, et de saint Hugues en particulier, pour leur prieuré de Paray, il faut bien entendre qu'il ne s'agit pas là seulement d'une affection mystique et impersonnelle. Saint Hugues portait évidemment à Paray-le-Monial un intérêt particulier parce que, pour lui, ce monastère était vraiment un bien de famille, sa prospérité un héritage et une tradition de famille, une obligation filiale à laquelle il ne pouvait manquer de rester fidèle.

Cette intimité de Cluny et de Paray sous saint Hugues, le grand abbé, les monuments eux-mêmes la reflètent; et s'il y a entre eux des identités singulières, avouées par tous ceux qui les ont comparés, faut-il en chercher la cause dans un désir *postérieur* de calque et de copie, en vérité bien anormal à cette époque, ou au contraire dans une seule pensée, unique, animant en même temps et inspirant d'une même volonté architectes et ouvriers. Cette pensée, c'est celle de saint Hugues. L'histoire le proclame, les monuments le démontrent. Et si Paray est la réplique de Cluny, c'est que saint Hugues l'a ainsi voulu, comme un artiste se complaît parfois à deux éditions de son œuvre.

Ce ne sont pas là des affirmations gratuites. Reprenons les plans des deux édifices, en tenant compte des dimensions exceptionnelles de l'abbatiale de Cluny, qui a déterminé l'existence nécessaire, pour l'équilibre, d'un double collatéral, avec étagements successifs. A Cluny, le premier collatéral se prolonge exactement par les travées collatérales du chœur immense; à Paray, la travée de chœur (unique parce que le monastère est moins peuplé de moines et d'officiants) est accostée d'un collatéral qui fait exactement suite au bas-côté, par delà le transept. A Cluny, de même que nous avons un double collatéral, et pour les mêmes raisons, nous avons deux transepts; à Paray, plus petit, le transept est ramené logiquement à l'unité. Rapprochons donc le petit transept de Cluny du transept de Paray, et les deux croisillons du nord. A Cluny, une absidiole en hémicycle s'ouvre à l'orient de ce croisillon, qui s'appuie vers le sud au mur de la travée collatérale du chœur; à Paray, même disposition: une absidiole sur le bras du transept, appuyée à la travée collatérale du chœur.

¹ Cf. Ulysse Chevalier, *Cartulaire de Paray-le-Monial*, in *Mém. de la Soc. d'hist. de Châlon-sur-Saône*, 1891. Introduction. — Dom L'Huillier, *Vie de saint Hugues*, chap. I.

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A Cluny, au-delà du collatéral du chœur naît un déambulatoire plus étroit que ce collatéral; à Paray, le déambulatoire est de même plus étroit que le bas-côté du chœur, ce qui simplifie sa construction, et, en réduisant la portée des voûtes, assure un meilleur équilibre. Il faut, en effet, réduire la portée des voûtes et diminuer les poussées dans cette région sensible, parce que le grand cul-de-four de l'abside porte uniquement sur des colonnes rondes, d'assez faible diamètre, pour laisser passer librement la perspective vers les absidioles terminales. Ces colonnes de l'hémicycle sont en même nombre à Paray et à Cluny: huit.

La seule variante notable est dans le plan des absidioles terminales: à Cluny, ce sont de simples hémicycles; à Paray, une travée droite précède le demi-cintre. Il est possible, ou bien que l'architecte de Cluny ait adopté de faibles dimensions pour ses absidioles afin de ne pas trop allonger son édifice déjà énorme et de ne pas multiplier les étagements du chevet, déjà nombreux, tandis que l'architecte de Paray pouvait avoir dessein, au contraire, de prolonger sa perspective dans son église plus ramassée; ou bien que l'architecte de Paray, voulant corriger cette perspective du chevet de Cluny, alors dressé en tout ou en partie, ait adopté un dispositif lui procurant ce bénéfice, et du reste inspiré probablement de l'Auvergne: ce n'est pas la seule réminiscence auvergnate qu'on trouve à Paray.

Hormis cette différence, tout est semblable. Semblables aussi les perspectives extérieures des chevets, les modes décoratifs, les percements, la forme et la disposition des points d'appui. Mais ici, parce que Cluny a été stupidement détruit, froidement démoli pour laisser place à des chevaux et à des palefreniers, nous intervertirons l'ordre de nos comparaisons et, commençant par Paray intact, nous chercherons la réplique ou le modèle dans les pauvres vestiges qui subsistent de Cluny.

Dans l'ensemble, aucun autre monument bourguignon n'a reproduit l'étagement de la région absidale qu'on trouve à Paray et à Cluny: ni Tournus, ni Beaune, ni Autun. Compte tenu de la différence de grandeur et des variantes qu'imposaient les dimensions colossales de Cluny, on peut affirmer que Paray est la seule réplique approchante du chevet de Cluny, la seule qui ait jamais existé en Bourgogne. A défaut de Cluny démoli, nous pouvons nous en faire une idée exacte par les dessins que nous en possédons et par une sorte de plan ou modèle en relief du dix-huitième siècle encore conservé au musée Ochier à Cluny. Le détail est encore plus instructif.

Aux absidioles de Paray, nous avons remarqué les cordons de billettes qui encadrent les fenêtres et rejoignent les tailloirs des colonnes-contreforts. C'est un motif du reste qu'on retrouve en Auvergne et dans les monuments soumis à l'influence auvergnate, à Notre-Dame du Port, à St.-Nectaire, à

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St.-Etienne de Nevers, à St.-Menoux, mais avec une notable variante dans la disposition du cordon et des contreforts.¹ Pour être moins rares en Bourgogne que ne le pense M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, les colonnes-contreforts ne sont pas cependant très répandues. A Paray, nos colonnes se terminent par des chapiteaux sculptés et par un tailloir à talus formant larmier. Or à l'absidiole du petit croisillon de Cluny, nous voyons encore en place le cordon de billettes, la colonne-contrefort montée sur une même plinthe, arrêtée sensiblement au-dessous de la corniche comme à Paray, le même chapiteau, le même tailloir à talus.

Enfonçons notre regard plus avant et considérons le mur tournant du déambulatoire. Sur lui s'ouvrent au rez-de-chaussée quatre fenêtres en plein cintre dans l'intervalle des absidioles et, au-dessus, dominant ces fenêtres et la toiture des absidioles, une rangée de fenêtres supérieures. C'est une disposition "anormale" nous avertit M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, et qui "s'explique par la hauteur du bas-côté tournant."² Mais cette disposition anormale, nous la voyons à Cluny: elle se reconnaît dans la grande vue de l'abbatiale donnée par Mabillon au tome V des *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, dans un dessin de Lallemant gravé au *Voyage pittoresque de la France* en 1787, dans le plan en relief du Musée Ochier à Cluny. *L'Album historique et archéologique du Millénaire de Cluny* en 1910 a commodément rassemblé toute cette documentation graphique.

Les coïncidences ne s'arrêtent pas là: le mur tournant du déambulatoire de Paray est épaulé par des contreforts qui montent jusqu'à la corniche, un peu en retrait du mur latéral des absidioles, en sorte que chaque fenêtre supérieure se place entre deux contreforts. Des contreforts semblables, distribués de même façon s'aperçoivent à Cluny aussi bien sur la vue de Mabillon que sur le dessin de Lallemant.

Il y a un peu plus d'incertitude pour le mur de la grande abside, richement décoré à Paray de pilastres cannelés très courts et d'une archivoltée cintrée à bordure de perles qui encadrent chaque fenêtre. Ces petits détails n'apparaissent pas avec netteté sur les vues anciennes de Cluny non plus que sur le plan en relief. Nous sommes cependant enclin à croire qu'on voyait à Cluny des motifs décoratifs comme à Paray: le dessin de Lallemant pourrait figurer une arcature continue enfermant toutes les fenêtres de la grande abside; et il semble bien qu'on discerne à la loupe, sur la vue de Mabillon, des fenêtres à bordure polylobée ou festonnée comme il en existe à l'intérieur du grand transept de l'abbatiale; on y trouve aussi, entre chaque fenêtre,

¹ Dans ces diverses églises, le cordon de billettes traverse les contreforts ou les colonnes-contreforts dans leur hauteur et les recouvre d'une saillie; à Paray et à Cluny, il se fond dans la ligne du tailloir et accompagne très franchement l'architecture qu'il souligne; le dispositif de Paray et de Cluny est davantage dans la logique constructive.

² *Congrès archéologique de Moulins*, 1913, p. 58.

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quelque apparence de pilastres cannelés. En un mot, un décor se devine, que les dessinateurs n'ont pas traduit avec précision.

Au delà de l'abside, dans les croisillons du transept, on voit à Paray de minces contreforts peu saillants, vestiges de bandes lombardes sans doute, mais sans arcature, qui s'intercalent entre les fenêtres supérieures; ils n'ont point de bases, mais se terminent sous la corniche par une sorte d'épais tailloir mouluré. A Cluny, dans la portion qui subsiste, au croisillon méridional du grand transept, on remarque encore ces mêmes bandes peu saillantes, entre les fenêtres, avec ce même tailloir mouluré, si épais qu'on le prendrait presque pour un chapiteau.

A l'intérieur, les termes de comparaison sont moins nombreux, par suite de la destruction de Cluny, mais ils ne sont pas moins significatifs. Les piliers cruciformes de la nef avaient exactement même structure dans les deux édifices: ils étaient à Cluny, comme ils sont à Paray, cantonnés de colonnes engagées sur trois faces, d'un pilastre cannelé vers la nef.¹ Au-dessus des grandes arcades, ces pilastres cannelés se prolongeaient à Cluny par des colonnes engagées supportant la retombée des arcs doubleaux,² alternance que nous avons observée à Paray. Des cordons ou des corniches, en forte saillie, séparaient à Cluny, comme ils séparent à Paray, les grandes arcades du triforium, le triforium de l'étage des fenêtres. Et dans les ordres de ces divers étages, la superposition était la même à Cluny et à Paray: pilastres cannelés entre les arcatures du triforium, colonnettes jumelées au-dessus, entre les archivoltes des baies.³

Serrant même de plus près encore le problème, reportons-nous, non plus à des descriptions écrites ou à des souvenirs pour Cluny détruit, mais aux croisillons de transept debout encore à Cluny comme à Paray: ils sont rigoureusement identiques dans leur structure. A Cluny comme à Paray, les grandes arcades sont à ressaut et à arêtes vives. Dans les deux édifices, entre deux ouvertures ou arcades monte une longue colonne engagée coupée de bagues au niveau des divers cordons séparatifs des étages, colonne qui reçoit le doubleau de la voûte. Un bandeau sert d'appui à un faux triforium dont les baies sont séparées par des pilastres cannelés avec bases et chapiteaux: la seule variante, à Cluny, est faite du feston qui entoure et ornemente les baies; ce feston, nous savons qu'il existe à Paray dans les oculi percés au pignon de la travée du chœur. Puis une nouvelle corniche portée par les tailloirs des pilastres et par des consoles intermédiaires marque l'étage des triples fenêtres, dont les archivoltes reposent sur des colonnettes jumelées. Un dernier bandeau souligne la naissance de la voûte à Paray comme à

¹ Cf. Terret, *La sculpture bourguignonne aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles, Cluny*, p. 134.— J. Virey, *L'architecture romane dans l'ancien diocèse de Mâcon*, p. 319, n. 1.

² Terret, *Op. et loc. cit.*

³ Cf. Terret, *Op. et loc. cit.*

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Cluny. Et la voûte est elle-même un berceau brisé soutenu par des doubleaux aussi bien à Cluny qu'à Paray. Il est difficile d'imaginer une réplique plus exacte.

Mais Cluny est en entier, nous l'avons montré, l'œuvre de saint Hugues. Ce même saint Hugues avait pour Paray-le-Monial une dilection toute filiale; il était présent à Paray lorsqu'on y effectuait des travaux et y accomplit à cette occasion un miracle. Paray ressemble étrangement à Cluny. Pourquoi donc Paray ne serait-il pas contemporain de Cluny? Parce que sa perfection, au commencement du douzième siècle contrarie un système archéologique? Mais Cluny, le témoin, témoin indiscutable, dans une région que personne ne dénie à saint Hugues, ne réalise pas une moindre perfection. Pourquoi ce qui est vrai pour Cluny serait-il faux et impossible pour Paray? Paray-le-Monial a donc bien été commencé par saint Hugues et mené loin avant qu'il ne mourût, en 1109. Tel était au milieu du dix-neuvième siècle l'avis de l'architecte Millet, et Millet avait raison. Nous nous expliquons alors sans peine pourquoi, visiblement, l'église n'a pas été terminée: la mort de saint Hugues en a définitivement compromis l'achèvement. Au lieu de la continuer sur le plan grandiose qu'indiquent son chevet et sa nef, on s'est contenté de raccorder, assez médiocrement, la nef au narthex préexistant qui était destiné à disparaître. Et c'est probablement alors qu'on se décida à terminer la tour nord de la façade.

Certes, une telle affirmation change les bases de la chronologie traditionnelle des édifices romans de Bourgogne. Elle suppose un perfectionnement plus grand de l'art architectural et décoratif qu'on n'est tenté de le reconnaître à l'aube du douzième siècle. Par répercussion, car les deux monuments se prêtent un mutuel appui, cette assertion renforce la thèse des archéologues, et nous sommes du nombre, qui refusent de placer Cluny trop avant dans le douzième siècle. Mais comme toutes ces conséquences se déduisent de textes irréfutables et de similitudes non moins certaines, de vraisemblances aussi qui ressemblent singulièrement à des certitudes; comme le progrès des recherches archéologiques tend de plus en plus à démontrer que l'art du douzième siècle naissant était beaucoup moins inhabile qu'on ne l'a longtemps cru, nous n'avons aucune raison de refuser l'évidence.

Pour justifier le rajeunissement de Paray-le-Monial, plusieurs archéologues, et M. Lefèvre-Pontalis est du nombre, ont allégué la similitude de cette basilique avec la cathédrale St.-Lazare d'Autun et avec la collégiale Notre-Dame de Beaune. Beaune et Autun sont en effet des édifices du même type, mais ils n'ont, à notre sens, que bien peu de ressemblance avec Paray-le-Monial. Nous trouvons en particulier à St.-Lazare d'Autun un tout autre esprit. Quelques apparences seulement dans l'élévation intérieure peuvent autoriser un rapprochement avec Paray-le-Monial. Le triple étage des



10. Autun. Cathédrale (Arch. Phot. d'Art et d'Histoire)



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grandes arcades, du faux triforium et des hautes fenêtres s'y retrouve bien. Mais le profil des grandes arcades à Autun est beaucoup plus recherché, plus compliqué. De même les bandeaux saillants séparatifs des étages sont à Autun accompagnés d'une fine et riche ornementation de rosaces ou de perles. Le triforium d'Autun, véritable réplique de la porte romaine d'Arroux, est d'un goût excellent. Mais il n'y a pas, comme à Paray, exacte concordance entre les fausses baies du triforium et les fenêtres supérieures: au lieu de trois, les fenêtres sont réduites à une par travée dans la cathédrale St.-Lazare. Il s'ensuit d'abord que la superposition des ordres, pilastres cannelés et colonnettes, d'un si heureux effet à Paray-le-Monial, disparaît à Autun parce qu'elle n'a plus aucune raison de subsister. En outre, et davantage, la réduction du nombre des fenêtres supérieures rend la haute nef d'Autun beaucoup moins lumineuse que celle de Paray. L'architecte de Paray, quoique venu le premier et plus ancien, a été plus audacieux dans ses percements, et avec plus de succès.

Nous touchons ici à la distinction fondamentale des deux édifices (et Notre-Dame de Beaune est dans le même cas que St.-Lazare d'Autun). Paray-le-Monial est un monument parfaitement équilibré: il a traversé les siècles sans dommage, sa haute voûte a tenu, sans qu'il ait été besoin d'amplifier les contreforts de butée. Autun au contraire, dès le treizième siècle, a exigé l'adjonction ou la substitution aux contreforts primitifs d'arcs-boutants pour maintenir la voûte; et même, au dix-neuvième siècle, a-t-on pris par nécessité le parti décisif de remplacer cette voûte par une couverture de poteries légères armées de fer. Autun vient après Paray dans l'ordre chronologique, mais non pour l'améliorer.

C'est que l'architecte de St.-Lazare a sacrifié la solidité à l'élégance. Paray-le-Monial est une œuvre forte, sobre, pure, définitive; un décor harmonieux accompagne les lignes pour en atténuer la sécheresse, mais sans les affaiblir et sans distraire véritablement la pensée ni le regard. La monotonie des lignes, dans l'élévation, est évitée par la superposition des ordres dans l'esprit le plus rationnel et le plus classique. La lumière abondante joue sur les détails et renforce l'armature. La puissance éclate sans écraser. La pensée, la raison, l'esprit et le goût ont tous apaisements.

St.-Lazare d'Autun sent bien davantage la recherche et le raffinement. A Paray, dans les piles, le mélange des pilastres cannelés et de la colonne engagée alliait la variété au sentiment de la force. Les piles d'Autun, toutes cantonnées sur leurs faces de cannelures, sentent peut-être quelque peu la mièvrerie et l'affadissement dans leur élégance. Tel est, en effet, le souci dominant du maître d'œuvres d'Autun: l'élégance des profils et des lignes. L'artiste manie d'ailleurs sans trop d'afféterie les éléments de sa grammaire ornementale. Mais, au premier aspect, l'œil est d'abord attiré et saisi par le

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détail; un détail du reste ordonné avec science et goût, harmonieux et plaisant, mais qui est l'affaire importante, une sculpture savoureuse bien différente de la simplicité de Paray. Viollet-le-Duc aurait dit sans doute que Paray-le-Monial reflète la sévérité et l'austérité monastique, tandis qu'Autun emprunte davantage aux grâces du siècle. Nous dirons plus exactement que Paray-le-Monial est plus voisin de sa source, que son style est arrivé à la maîtrise des formes. Ne pouvant innover en cette matière, et ne voulant pas imiter servilement, l'architecte d'Autun s'est engagé dans une voie différente, au risque d'affaiblir la construction; il a donné la préférence au dehors et à l'apparence, sacrifié peut-être l'être au paraître. On sent peut-être à Autun comme les premiers symptômes de l'appauvrissement et de la décadence d'un style, quelque chose de ce que l'art flamboyant sera au gothique. L'œuvre est d'ailleurs encore très belle et fort distinguée.

Mais Paray-le-Monial est un monument plus puissant et plus grand. Il exprime, comme Cluny, l'apogée de l'architecture romane de Bourgogne, élevée par saint Hugues à sa perfection dès le début du douzième siècle: une église élancée, noble d'allure, sobre et savante dans son décor, d'un goût très pur, largement éclairée et d'une stabilité définitive.

C. OURSEL,

Chargé du cours d'histoire de l'art bourguignon
à la Faculté des Lettres de Dijon.

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1. Paris. Louvre. Camondo Collection

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By RAYMOND S. STITES

IN VIEW of the ill-fated attempt of Geheimrat Bode to acquire, in the wax bust of the Flora, a real Leonardo for the Berlin Museum, writers have become more chary in attempting to assign works of sculpture to that artist. The most successful of recent efforts has been that of Professor Meller of the Budapest Museum, a review of whose article in the Prussian *Jahrbuch* appeared in the *Art Bulletin*, Vol. II, pp. 129 ff. He was able to identify a bronze group in his museum as a cast from a model made as a study for the Trivulzio monument; but this little equestrian bronze (23.5 cm. high) is so badly cast that most of the modelling has been lost. It does show, however, the spirit of Leonardo's sketches, and Meller deserves credit for a very complete working over of Leonardo's career as a sculptor. In addition to a number of scattered studies in the *Burlington Magazine*, and a restatement of Bode's belief in his recent *Studien über Leonardo da Vinci*, there has recently appeared a very thorough work on the subject of Leonardo as sculptor by the man most familiar with the Milan of Leonardo's time, Malaguzzi Valeri.¹ Malaguzzi Valeri throws into high relief the close relationship of Leonardo to his pupil, Rustici, and his master, Verrocchio. The suggestion is advanced that Leonardo participated extensively in the commissions received by Verrocchio, particularly in the Colleoni monument.

The difficulty with all the attempts to attribute sculpture to Leonardo is the lack of any *point d'appui*. So far as literary evidence goes, the best that we have is the notice that Leonardo helped Rustici to finish the figures of the Pharisee, Levite, and St. John over the door of the Florentine baptistery (Fig. 8). The other items to be found in Vasari or in Leonardo's own notebooks cannot be brought into connection with any extant monuments. Since nothing remains of the Sforza undertaking and next to nothing of the Trivulzio monument, it is very hard for us at the present day to form any judgment as to the justification Leonardo had in parading before his contemporaries as a great sculptor. Any reconstruction of the sculpture of Leonardo, or any identification of extant sculpture as his, must be pretty largely subjective. Evidence of style is vitiated by the difficulty of inferring style in sculpture from style in painting. Despite these objections, I wish to call attention to a terra-cotta in the Louvre, and to its counterpart in Florence, as being, in my opinion, works by Leonardo.

¹ Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, *Leonardo da Vinci e la scultura*, Bologna, Zanichelli (1922).

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The Camondo collection is placed in such an inconspicuous part of the Louvre that it has never attracted the attention that some other private collections have enjoyed. Among its treasures is a terra-cotta group which, placed in a better light and in a more frequently visited room, would certainly have had a larger audience (Figs. 1, 2, and 10). It bears the commendatory label, "Attributed to Pollaiuolo."

There are, in fact, some things in the modelling of the hair, the open mouths of the combatants, and the treatment of surface forms, that remind one of the familiar group of Hercules and Antaeus. An examination of Pollaiuolo's drawings shows also that the terra-cotta group has something of his language of line; but the group diverges from his drawings in its utterly different anatomy. With Pollaiuolo a disjointed anatomy is unified by what it expresses.¹ In this group a natural anatomy is nearly disjointed by emphasis on expression.

The fundamental objection to the association of this group with Pollaiuolo is that it is clearly the work of a *Cinquecento* master. In fact, it makes one think of such a man as Giovanni da Bologna. The front panel on the base of the Rape of the Sabines (Fig. 3) furnishes a kind of parallel for the Louvre group: the anatomy in both cases seems to have something of the Michelangelesque. The modelling of the hair, however, has with Giovanni da Bologna passed the stage of individual locks in which the Louvre group seems still to stick. A closer comparison reveals that the equestrian group at the left of the relief has less vigour of modelling and a corresponding loss of life. The tempestuous shaking of the horse's head, which tosses the locks first to right, then to left, in the terra-cotta, is diametrically opposed to the stiff treatment of the neck and mane in the bronze. In composition, too, there is great discrepancy between the bronze and the terra-cotta. The figures in the former appear to be so many individuals acting independently of each other, whereas in the latter they form a unit.

This quality of separation of the figures is still more noticeable in the work of Bertoldo as illustrated in the battle relief at the Bargello. Bertoldo seems very backward. His composition gives the impression of being derived piece by piece from models on ancient sarcophagi. This source may explain the anatomy of his horses, with their small heads and necks and relatively large bodies. Certainly the anatomy could hardly be derived from the study of living models, for the muscles of the fore quarters are very inaccurately placed, while those of the hind quarters are completely omitted. In comparison, the biting head of the Paris horse strikes one as a natural termination of the powerful and convincing neck, and the musculature in general reminds one of such anatomical studies as Leonardo undertook in connection with

¹ Cf. *A. B.*, Vol. 4.



2. Paris. Louvre. Camondo Collection



3. Florence. *Loggia dei Lanzi*. Panel: Rape of the Sabines

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his biological research (anatomical studies, however, which did not prevent the introduction of certain details such as the flamboyant tail, for the sake of expression rather than anatomy).

There is one point in which the Camondo group shows considerable knowledge of the work of Verrocchio, namely, in the handling of hair. (Compare the hair of Verrocchio's David with that of the short-haired warriors.) There is also some analogy between the Camondo horse and the Colleoni horse; but the positions are so different that no direct comparison can be made.

In the case of an unassigned group like the one in the Camondo collection, it is inevitable that one's attribution should depend upon one's estimation of its value. To me the Camondo group seems striking enough to be by a man of the first rank. Since the men of first rank of the period around 1500, to which it belongs, are pretty well-known, I think it significant that it does not precisely fit into the work of any of the major sculptors. Although both Michelangelo and Raphael were sufficiently impressed by the general interest in horses, stimulated by Verrocchio and carried further in Leonardo's Anghiari battle-piece, to turn occasionally to equestrian studies, there is nothing in the solitary drawing which I know by Michelangelo in which a horse occurs, nor in the occasional drawings of horses and fighters by Raphael (Venice Academy, Louvre), to argue any connection between their work and that of the Camondo group.

Richter publishes a very instructive note by Leonardo on "How to Depict a Battle":

Make the victors running in haste, the hair and other light things flapping in the wind, their eyebrows drawn high. One who runs always throws the opposite limbs forward, so that when the right leg is advanced, the left arm also reaches out. You must depict the defeated and wounded as pale, their eyebrows where they come together drawn high, the flesh above being wrinkled in folds which denote pain. Across the bridge of the nose are several wrinkles that mount up from the brow of the nostrils, running to the beginning of the eyes. The nostrils are drawn high, so those folds that hold the bowed lips show the upper teeth and the teeth are parted as by cries and shrieks of pain. One shades his anxious eyes with his hand, the palm of the hand turned against the enemy, with the other holding himself up from the ground sustaining his half-fallen chest. Others you must depict crying loud with wide-open mouths and in flight. You can see some who, deprived of their weapons and beaten down, try with teeth and nails to take revenge upon the victors. You must have a horse running unreined amongst the enemy, his mane fluttering in the wind, making great damage with his hoofs.

The very decided movement of the Camondo group from right to left, accentuated by the movement of the combatant who is falling from the horse, and reciprocating for the painful biting by the beast by tearing at its tender nostrils, suggests a companion piece. The powerful sketchy modelling of movement toward the left, even in the rear of the group, so confirmed this

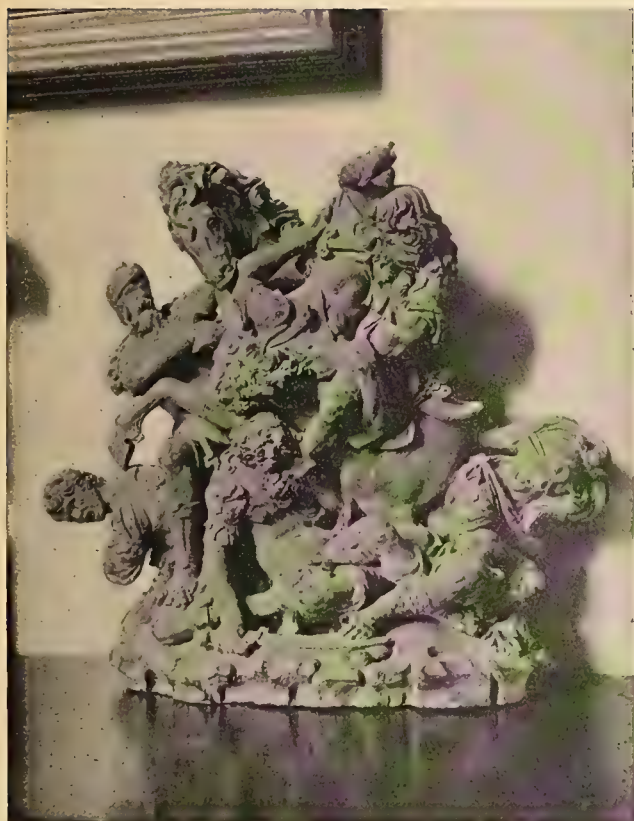
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suggestion that I was roused to highest anticipation when I learned that there were two similar terra-cotta groups in the possession of an American collector in Florence (Figs. 4 and 5). This collector has very kindly allowed me to make photographs of his groups and to make a careful inspection and take the measurements of them. The two groups correspond to each other in measurements, composition, and modelling, but are dissimilar to the group in the Louvre. The group in the Louvre is about 41 cm. broad, 47 high, and 22 thick. One (Fig. 5) of the groups in Florence is $60 \times 55 \times 26$ cm., the other (Fig. 4), $50 \times 54 \times 26$ cm.

In both of the Florence groups the composition is overcrowded through the addition of an extra figure falling in front of the horse. This figure projects in an ugly fashion at the bottom of the group and distracts attention from the main action. It reminds one of Leonardo's observation: "There are some, insane, who are so diverse in mind that the figures in their compositions seem to run here and there as if without thought or meaning." In contrast, one cannot help but note the absolute necessity of every one of the five figures in the Camondo group. Each contributes to the realization of the action, and it is impossible to conceive the group without it.

In the Florentine groups the modelling is weak. The drapery is allowed to interfere with the bodily forms, for example, the biceps on the left arm of the right figure in Figure 4. A certain disjointedness betrays an insufficient knowledge of anatomy. Just as the figures are not so placed as to make the group a unit, each single figure is disintegrated, as we notice emphatically if we try to piece together the various parts of the horse. A striking example of impossible anatomy is given by the left leg of the man escaping from the hind quarters of the horse. It should be compared with the right leg of the man in the left foreground of the Paris group. A still sharper contrast is furnished if one compares the treatment of hair on the Florentine groups with that on the Camondo group. In the latter the hair is modelled by one who is accustomed to see his work finished in bronze. The other workman has carved his hair into clumsy locks, the heaviness of which seems to contribute considerably to the burden the horse has to support. The lack of finish on the back of the Florentine groups (Fig. 6) should also be noted, since the back of the Louvre group is practically as well finished as the front.

It must be said that the Florentine groups are above suspicion as to age. They were successively in the possession of two noble Florentine families (one, the Rucellai). So far as is known, they had always passed as the work of Rustici. This attribution of them is supported by a comparison with his drawings in the Uffizi. These exhibit the same lack of anatomical knowledge: witness the placing of the bent leg of the right-hand figure in the drawing (Fig. 7). An analogy appears in the placing of the bent leg of the Levite of the



4. Florence. Private Collection



5. Florence. Private Collection



6. Florence. Private Collection



7. Florence. Uffizi



9. Florence. Horne Collection



8. Florence. Baptistry. Pharisee, Levite and St. John

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baptistery group (Fig. 8). Perhaps the baldness of the Levite and the general reluctance to the representation of hair in Rustici's drawings is a comment on the awkward handling of hair in the Florentine terra-cottas. The raised arm of the left-hand figure in the drawing has the defects in anatomy so noticeable in the terra-cottas.

The close relation of Leonardo to Rustici, studied in detail in the above-mentioned book of Malaguzzi-Valeri, is of course recorded by Vasari, to whom we are indebted for the following information. Rustici studied with Verrocchio, and after Verrocchio's death fell very naturally into the circle of Leonardo, with whom he worked for a time. The relationship was mutually pleasant, and from Rustici's standpoint profitable. He learned from Leonardo how to make horses, and proceeded to turn them out in various media for his own pleasure. Rustici lived for a time in the street of the Martelli and was particularly intimate with Piero Martelli. Leonardo, according to a memorandum in his note-book of the 22d of March, 1508, was at Florence in the house of Piero Martelli. Among Rustici's numerous other friends is mentioned Francesco Rucellai, to whose family, as we have just noted, came the two Florentine terra-cottas. Thus the stylistic evidence for their authorship is bolstered up by independent literary evidence.

In addition to the groups already discussed, I know of another group which was formerly in the collection of the German antiquary, Brauer. Although mentioned in the *Burlington Magazine* for February, 1916, it has never, so far as I know, been reproduced. Since it has now come by bequest into the possession of the Bargello we may anticipate an appropriate publication. Mr. Horne considered it inferior to the group assigned to Rustici (Fig. 9) in his own collection. Through the courtesy of Count Gamba I have been allowed to study it.

In the Brauer group the action is from left to right. The terra-cotta has sometime been given a coat of brown paint, the disappearance of which reveals exquisite modelling on the head of the horse and the face of the rider, who with compressed lips and upraised arm (forearm and hand missing) is about to deal the finishing blow to an opponent falling across his lap. Below, in the right foreground, a man who has fallen half under the horse seizes the foot of the rider and is about to bite it. Behind the horse, to the left, is a man who corresponds to the crushed figure of the Paris group. Another warrior is in front of the horse. The dimensions, $44 \times 47 \times 23$ cm., coincide almost exactly with those of the Paris group.

There are, however, some differences between the groups, which should be noted. In the Brauer group the helmet of the man who has fallen behind the horse, the fantastic hat of the man who is rising in front, and the tail of the

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horse seem to be additions defectively modelled and lifeless. The tail of the horse corresponds rather closely to that of one of the privately owned groups (Fig. 4). Subtracting, however, these three defects, we have a companion piece to the Camondo group. In fact, the heads of the horse and rider are perhaps more spirited than in the Paris composition.

A close study of the Brauer piece shows that the three additions mentioned were added before baking. There are no additions on the Paris piece. I conclude, therefore, that it was the first to be finished, and that the other was left in an unfinished state, only to be completed by Rustici.

If we can assume that the Camondo group represents the work of Leonardo, the relation between Leonardo and Rustici would be clarified as follows: The Camondo group and the unfinished Brauer group came into Rustici's possession about the time that Leonardo left Florence in 1506. Rustici finished the Brauer group and baked it and perhaps claimed it as his own. In any case he secured, as Vasari records, a considerable reputation as a sculptor of horses. Then, keeping the Paris group as a model, he produced from it the two Florentine groups. Possibly he took it to France with him, finally. Meanwhile his reputation was such that he secured the commission for the three figures on the baptistery. In 1508 he was able to obtain Leonardo's help to complete them. How much of Leonardo they may have about them it is impossible to say with assurance, but it would appear that the Levite has very little. The other may have more. At least, Leonardo's counsels rescued Rustici from an uncomfortable situation, and after Leonardo's departure, the indifferent artist continued to enjoy his bouquets and a secure reputation as a sculptor.

I have just indicated my belief that Leonardo made the Camondo group and its counterpart before 1506 — a belief based on what we know of the evolution of the horse in Leonardo's works. The study of the horse, it is well known, was a passion with him from a very early period. In fact, it was an almost inevitable passion for a young man of intellectual tastes growing up in the studio of Verrocchio at the time when bronze equestrian monuments were the ambition of every *condottiere*. The horse appears conspicuously in the cartoon for the "Adoration of the Kings" just at the time that Verrocchio was engaged on the Colleoni monument. The passion was given added incentive, first by the prospect and then by the reality of the removal of Leonardo to Milan. In spite of his boasting letter of 1482, it was not until 1489 that Leonardo began the Sforza horse. The Battle of Anghiari commissioned in 1503 gave Leonardo another great opportunity in equestrian studies. It is with the horses of this period that the Camondo and Brauer groups show closest analogies. Finally, after Leonardo's return to Milan in 1509, he



10. Paris. Louvre. Camondo Collection

LEONARDO DA VINCI, SCULPTOR

received a new impetus to equestrian studies in the commission for the Trivulzio monument.

The Camondo and Brauer groups are true to the tradition of Verrocchio's workshop in their insistence on line. Characteristically Verrocchian, too, was the preference for a plastic material, bronze, where expense did not prevent it. Bertoldo, on the other hand, even when working in bronze, attempted the effects of carving. Just as Leonardo was true to the tradition of his teacher, Verrocchio, so Michelangelo was true to the tradition of his teacher, Bertoldo, in allowing the feeling for form to outweigh that for linear composition.

The Camondo and Brauer groups are certainly conceived as reliefs, even pictorial reliefs, but, as seen from either end (Fig. 10), they might almost be taken for sculpture in the round. In the careful modelling of the back of the Camondo group survives the mediaeval instinct for the sacredness of the object as a whole, an instinct lost in the Renaissance when the outward show of the façade became sufficient. In the disposal of the figures, all facing the spectator, this Renaissance feeling appears, nourished down to Leonardo's time by the long succession of Florentine painter-sculptors. It is largely the traditional feeling for pictorial composition which unifies the groups despite their Baroque movement. The survival through the Renaissance of the Gothic and its re-emergence in the Baroque are well illustrated in these groups.

The groups have value as illustrating the study of expression, to which Leonardo devoted considerable time. In the Camondo group every mouth is open to express pain, nevertheless each expression of pain is individualized. The rearing horse crushes the man behind him. The man in the foreground, "deprived of his weapons," uses his teeth upon the big toe of the rider, and, as a fulminating spark, this action explodes the entire group into a frenzy of battle. The cavalier, screaming with pain, chokes his opponent, who pulls on a lock of the horse's mane. The horse bites the falling soldier — who, it should be noted, has a face closely corresponding to that of the warrior in the Budapest Museum. The whole is in motion, no part of which radiates into space. We may regard the group as a representation of a particular combat, or, if we like generalizations such as those with which Rubens's pictures are labelled, as a concentration of the whole fury of war.

FACT AND INFERENCE IN THE MATTER OF
JAMB SCULPTURE



1. Lucca. Sta. Maria Forisportam.
North Door



3. Bari. S. Nicola.
North Door



2. Bourges. Cathedral. North Door



4. Certosa di Pavia.
Amadeo's Door

FACT AND INFERENCE IN THE MATTER OF JAMB SCULPTURE

BY GEORGIANA GODDARD KING

THERE are three principal ways to decorate a portal. First, if the mass of the wall is not too thick, it may be framed, like a picture or a window, in moulded or carved design which defines and adorns the opening, distinguishing it from the solid wall and making the most of it. In the carvings of Syrian architecture this ornamentation is seen at its purest.

Second, a portal may be conceived simply as a solution of continuity in the solid wall; the adjacent faces may be decorated, usually in relief, by slabs on either hand and often a figured lintel. Where the stones are large or the masonry is very thick, the slabs may be set in the flat face of the thickness, and figures in relief or in the round may be placed precisely on the right and left of the person entering. This method of adornment, used already at Persepolis and famous at Cremona and Santiago, has had on the whole very little vogue.

Finally, since the mass of the wall and its buttresses cannot when deep, for reasons of safety and convenience, be left with the mere sharp jutting right angle, — whence the angle column of Turkish and other Moslem doorways, — the opening is most often treated by chamfering or gradually narrowing in a series of stepped angles. So Ferrara seems to offer the southern equivalent of the English multiplied mouldings, filling with colonnettes the re-entrant angles. The churches of northern France and most of Spain set statues against such columns or in place of them. These various ways of treating jamb sculpture, distinguishable in theory and in their origin, are often combined. For instance, the two methods mentioned in the second category are combined at Trani, at Olite, at St.-Michel-de-Cuxa. In out of the way places, or along the road of pilgrims where many currents meet, we find the permutations and combinations innumerable.

The choice among alternatives was determined by material conditions, that is, access to stone suited for monumental or for decorative carving. It was conditioned also by tradition and influx, that is, by the continuity of a received style or custom, and the changing methods resulting from a free and incessant passage of travellers. It was affected further by the genius of a people, whether this was by nature plastic or on the other hand decorative, that is, born with a bias for tri-dimensional pattern or even for pure flat design.

FACT AND INFERENCE IN JAMB SCULPTURE

This discussion considers only a few among the innumerable examples of the three types, is confined for the most part to Italy, France, and Spain, and is concerned chiefly with the Romanesque.

I

In the East-imperial art of Syria and Asia Minor is to be found, probably, the source of the wreathing scroll that runs up the outer jambs of so many church doors in southern Italy and along the Via Emilia. Already in the century before Christ a vine motive appeared in doorways of shrines dedicated to the Nabataean wine-god Dusaris. So on the great door of the temple of Dionysus at Baalbek a delicate vine scroll, enwreathing figures, constitutes the middle portion of the ornament. A very beautiful free design of vine and grapes, from about the beginning of the Christian era, was carved for the temple enclosure at Suweda that the Nabataean king Malchus built (50–28 B.C.). Likewise the sculptured vine adorns the jambs of the gate at Petra. On lintel and jamb at Atil (151 A.D.) it passes into a scroll of more formal loveliness, matched only by the acanthus rinceaux at Kanawat, of the age of Trajan or Hadrian.¹ In Asia Minor,² meanwhile, the pattern of the vine had been used not only on a base in the Market Hall at Termessos, where it issues from an urn, but upon the jamb of a niche in the temple there. In the Nymphæum of Miletus the flanking pillars of the central niche in both the top range and the bottom were adorned with the same motive. These repeat and prepare for the door jambs. In the Constantinople Museum may yet be admired the cornices and jambs from Aphrodisias, which are dated by a dedication to Venus and Trajan at the opening of the second century (Fig. 31). Here the luxuriant acanthus scrolls enclose climbing *putti* and graceful creatures, and suggest what were the models for such work as the ninth-century Zodiac ivory in the Cluny, and how in the major art must be found the sources of the minor.

These instances, Syrian and Hellenistic, though few, are sufficient to show what the crusader and the pilgrim, the merchant and the craftsman, had before their eyes when they travelled. Nor was the use of the designs discontinued. From Iconium and the Holy Land the motives passed into Italy through sea-ports and along the Roman roads, into southern France and Spain along the river valleys and the ways to famous sanctuaries.

¹ This is not the "Dusaris motive" (a Carolingian form important enough to require a name), which may be seen in perfection on the sarcophagus of Theodata at Pavia or the cistern jambs at Merida, and which is descended probably from the Syrian motive. The Syrian examples here cited may be seen in Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts*, pp. 333, 334, 346, 360; earlier ones are published in Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*; for instance, on the temple of Baal Shamin at Si (pp. 376, 377) which is dated B.C. 33, and the so-called south temple (p. 395), and on the Nabataean Gate, of the first century A.D. and the Roman Gate, second century (p. 363).

² Bachmann, Watzinger, and Wiegand, *Petra*, p. 51; Lanckoronski-Brzezic, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, vol. II, p. 55, fig. 11, pls. V and VII; Wiegand, *Milet*, pl. XXXVI.



5. Lucca. S. Maria della Rosa.
The Bishop's Door



10. S. Maria de Olite. Eastern
Jamb. Two Faces



6. Verona. Cathedral. *Biches*



8. Apulian Jamb Carvings



7. St.-Denis. Abbey. South
Door Jamb



9. St.-Michel-de-Cuxa.
Biches

FACT AND INFERENCE IN JAMB SCULPTURE

1

Bari and Trani¹ were frequented *entrepôts* for the crusaders; there the earliest Romanesque portals show the vine. The north door of S. Nicola at Bari must have been finished by 1100 (Fig. 3). That church and Bari Cathedral alike, by the occurrence of the Syrian square east end and by the character and quality of the carving on their doors and east windows, give further evidence of Eastern models.

Under Eastern airs Trani rears her honey-colored marbles above a turquoise sea. Sea-borne, there, is the carving. On the façade the cutting of the porch capitals and of the flat acanthus leaves of the arcade is to be recognized as Syro-Byzantine. Alongside "Lombard" lions under the jamb proper, free shafts descend upon such a group of crouching figures as serve to bear a column at Modena and Verona, and had served, since 1098, to hold up the bishop's throne at Bari. These too may be sea-borne, for just such a pair of crouching slaves hold up the open arch of a priestess's tomb at Termessos.²

The front of Trani was completed in 1143. The outer face of the jamb, with its desiccated pattern, keeps vestiges of the rinceaux, enclosing figures; the inner face is carved in quite another manner with crowding figures, Isaac and Abraham, Jacob and the Angel, in interlacing of forms less barbarous than the central post of Moissac or Souillac, but very like in intention and partly identical in theme.

The theme of the vine was dear to the region and the age. The middle door of Bitonto Cathedral is representative. It shows two orders of vine scrolls carried around the arch without a break, and a crowning order of the beautiful flat Syrian acanthus leaf that is so familiar in Spanish Romanesque along the Duero Road and that is significant here because it tells of the pilgrimage church of St. Simeon Stylites. An example of the thirteenth century is the door of Bitetto, which sets a row of little scenes in rectangles outside the scroll, which itself springs from an urn like those antique ones of Asia Minor; and here the flat acanthus leaf of the arch is conventionalized almost beyond recognition. As a third instance may be selected the fourteenth-century palatine church of Altamura, when urns and crouching figures are quaintly combined as seated damsels who carry vases on their heads. In addition, beyond a fine outer series of scenes taken up the jambs and all around the archivolt, the crouching slaves reappear, as do the lions also, under columns. Lastly might be cited a fifteenth-century window in Sicily, where urns and vines are persistent and luxuriant amid the thin sharp forms

¹ A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, articles in the *Burlington Magazine*, 1924; *Art Studies*, vol. I, 1924; *Art Bulletin*, vol. VII, no. 1, 1924. For Trani: Bertaux, *L'Art dans l'Italie Méridionale*.

² *Städte Pamphyliens*, vol. II, p. 117, fig. 87. See Note A, *The Crouching Slave*.

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of Levantine Spanish Gothic (Fig. 13). Even Amadeo's door at the Certosa di Pavia is but a fresh flowering on the old stock (Fig. 4).

In Tuscany proper, except on the Pisan columns and their derivatives, the vine scroll is not familiar; but it may be found, with other strange matters, at S. Costanzo of Perugia, where appears also an angle shaft like those of Konieh and Cairo. Perhaps S. Pietro of Spoleto should be reckoned here, though the beautiful rinceaux of the door frame seem rather, like the doorway of Salerno, directly derived from imperial buildings in Italy. Spoleto, however, suggests comparison with Kanawat, and can well sustain it.

Certain churches of the Lombard Romanesque keep a memory of the vine wreath, — even S. Michele of Pavia on the south door, — but more especially those in towns that had a direct contact with the East. A case in point is S. Zeno of Verona, where the tall garland of the door frame is topped by crouching slaves, probably designed to hold up a lintel, as others like them hold the upper story here and on the west and south doors of Verona Cathedral. The scrolls on the main door at Modena again confirm the conviction of Professor Porter that Modena was always indebted to Bari, not merely connected by the Arthurian history in the archivolt of the Porta della Pescheria and the crouching slaves under the *pontile*.

Meanwhile, as at Benevento, the classical square door was to be set about with a lovely intricate design about 1160, so at Milan the clumsy Northern carver covered the door frame of S. Ambrogio with plait and interlacing, leaving to his better, whether Master Adam or another, the finer but still imperfect work in the arch, which fixes the date as 1098.¹

Master Benedetto, working on the baptistery of Parma (1196–1216), setting his name on the lintel, had enjoyed twenty years for travel since he carved the Deposition for the cathedral. It is plain, however, that the Byzantinism of that relief, with its formal decoration of carving and *niello*, had been of south-Italian derivation. Where on the Door of Judgement he set little scenes of the Works of Mercy, corporal and spiritual, under duplicated arches, and where on the Door of the Virgin, among the windings of a vine, he adapted to a Tree of Jesse and a Tree of the Prophets² the same original scheme of figures among green leafage, he used his recollection of the South and perhaps a knowledge of the East, while in the tympanum sculptures, within and without, he betrays acquaintance with the North and the West, St.-Gilles and Santiago. With his name ends, fitly enough, this hasty account of the vine scroll in Italy.

¹ Rivoira, *Le Origine della Architettura Lombarda*, pp. 291–293.

² Note B, *The Tree of Jesse*.



11. Estabaliz. S. Maria



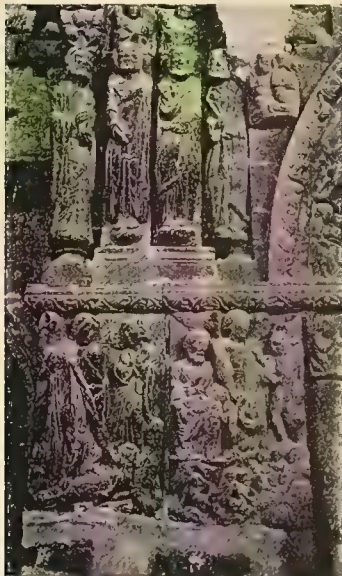
12. Ulvik Church.
Door-Plank



13. Levantine Gothic in Sicily



14. Santiago de Compostela.
Puerta Santa



15. Estella. S. Miguel



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2

In Serbia the importance of Bari is matter of history.¹ Nemanja sent offerings (about 1190) to Jerusalem, Rome, Bari, and Constantinople. Special privileges at Bari for Serbians had been reconfirmed by the Pope in 1172, and in 1195 immunity was granted by the empress to Serbian vessels frequenting the port; as late as 1319 Milutin founded and endowed a silver altar in the crypt; but the mountaineers' barbarian art by that time had reasserted itself at home. On the churches of Nemanja, however, at Studenica and Dečani, the vine scroll of Bari appears; while under Lazar and Milutin the barbarian plait and interlacing, such as had been used and abandoned at Milan and Pavia in the eleventh century or earlier, were now employed. They appear more frequently around windows and high arcades, as at Ravanica and Krusevac, late in the fourteenth century, yet also for door jambs at Liubostinja and Veluce early in the fifteenth.² As time passes, however, there is less decoration of doorways than one would expect.

The same seems to hold true for Armenia,³ where Strzygowski's work shows instances only at Odzun of a vine scroll with grapes put on upside down, on the upper church at Amaghu of a continuous pattern around the door, on the door of a grave-chapel inside the church of Mzchet where a plait is used similarly. If it is permissible to anticipate the next section of this discussion and be done with Armenia, there is only to add that the flanking statues at Achthamar and elsewhere ornament windows and not doorways, with the exception of a sepulchral chapel that opens into the cloister of St. Stephen near Garni. It looks as if that insignificance of the portal which Street observed as characteristic of England and Normandy were characteristic also of such provincials and mountaineers as Serbians and Armenians, leaving for the citizens of Rome and their heirs about the Mediterranean or in the great Gallic and Germanic colonies the passionate care for the injunction: *Attolite portas, principes, vestras et elevamini portæ æternales*.

On the coast of Dalmatia⁴ the scroll motive was used very early by workmen whose art was still Carolingian, as appears in the Zara museum from two door piers that still support a triangular tympanum. Such doors as those of the cathedral at Traù (1240) and Zara (1285) are to be traced back, probably, to the greater art of Apulia, for between the two shores of the Adriatic the interchange was mutual, and Simon of Ragusa set his signature on S. Andrea of Barletta. The forms lived on and developed long. At Traù ex-

¹ Millet, *L'Ancien Art Serbe*, pp. 22 and 47.

² Millet, *op. cit.* Studenica, etc., figs. 78-83; Ravanica, fig. 184; Krusevac, figs. 192-195; Veluce, etc., figs. 198, 199.

³ *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, figs. 370, 675, 648; statues, figs. 471-474, 582, 766, 767.

⁴ Jackson, *Dalmatia, Istria and the Quarnero*, vol. II, p. 118; vol. I, p. 278.

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quisite shafts of marble, traditionally believed to have been fetched from the castle of Bihač in Hungary, are inlaid into the inmost pair of jamb shafts, like the Moslem angle shafts that flank the *mihrab* niche and outer door of mosques, and the porch and its shadowed niches in the *khans* of Asia Minor. The crouching slaves beneath the base have become, so to speak, standing and self-respecting persons. Indeed, the same change is to be observed in the caryatid figures at the cathedral of Spoleto and under a window at Toscanella, on a tomb at S. Juan de la Peña, and, finally, on the trumeau of Beaulieu and the façade of St.-Denis. These six places, though remote on the map, have something in common: in each case the art of the place is imported and various, far-fetched and dear-bought.

The rectangles with their reliefs have gained in importance at Traù, as in the later south-Italian churches. The first beginnings of that ornamentation might be seen at S. Michele of Pavia, where up the north jamb of the central door, for instance, run fighting groups of animals, but interspersed with these are other groups and scenes. A fine use of the type concurrently with scroll and vine wreath is on the doors of the baptistery at Parma; and an odd but direct culmination exists in the reliefs at S. Petronio of Bologna by Jacopo della Quercia, just as other forms return afresh, in the Renaissance, at Lucca and the Certosa di Pavia (Figs. 5 and 4).

Another version may be found on the portal of S. Maria at Olite in Navarre, where the foliage is like the leafage of deep woods in midsummer, set tight upon the lintel and in the archivolts, and the jambs are occupied with a fantastic arrangement of varied elements, Spanish and exotic, created probably in the late fourteenth century. This is the Spanish equivalent of the transept-portal grotesques of Rouen; but though it quarters the fleur-de-lys of France with the castles of Spain, it looks more like Altamura (Fig. 10).

Scattering instances of patterned jambs crop out in far-away places. For instance, at Andlau¹ in the Rhine country occurs the same south-Italian combination of scrolls flanked by grouped personages under arches, in square compartments, with the caryatid slave below. Here also on the tympanum appears the mysterious archer of the Ruthwell Cross in conjunction with a vine-stock and a tree and other Oriental themes. In Spain, at the pilgrimage church of S. Maria de Estabaliz, the jambs are covered with a beautiful open scroll that must have been copied from an ivory (and indeed one of the capitals inside the church has the forms and technique of ivory work), while the two colonnettes are covered with a deep rush-plait (Fig. 11). For the *Virgen de la Peña*, at Sepúlveda, the workman set a like plait on both faces of the jamb; now the sanctuary is a place of pilgrimage and the town lies between the mountains of Segóvia and the Duero valley. Near Villaviciosa,

¹ De Lasteyrie, *L'Architecture religieuse dans l'époque Romane*, p. 529, fig. 543.



16. Avila. S. Vicente



17. St.-Michel-de-Cuxa. Portal



18. Agramunt. Prophet

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on the north shore, at S. Juan de Amandi, along with beak moulding in the archivolts and spindle-shaped shafts, a rich zigzag — like English chevron — runs around the pointed doorway and down to the moulded plinth. Considering these four places, we perceive how equally along the Rhine and up into the Cantabrian estuaries ran roads of traffic and commerce, and how the two pilgrimage shrines lie close to such ports or passes in the hills as travellers know and frequent.

Why France made so little use of this sort of ornament is not hard to understand, for the French genius is not primarily decorative but always rational, and at the supreme moment plastic. The fact is plain, that the kind was not liked. At Angoulême, for instance, in the midst of luxuriant carving the jambs are smooth, as in all the magnificence of St.-Gilles they are simply channelled. At Cluny, however, as the lithograph of Sagot shows it, rinceaux run up the jambs, and the slender columns are patterned as if they were on the Via Emilia (Fig. 51). Also in the West of France, as at Charlieu, or as at Bordeaux and Bourges (Fig. 2) where many tracks converge; or along the pilgrimage ways, as at Avallon, where to the church of St.-Lazare and down the road to Autun and its shrine came many from that Mediterranean which had borne St. Lazarus and his sisters from Palestine — in such places are found vestiges of the old vine motive of Asia Minor and Syria.

At St.-Gilles, moreover, a great and memorable scroll derived directly from the antique does appear in what might be called the front edge of the door recess (Fig. 35). At Maintes,¹ remote but fraught with Roman memories, scrolls that spring from clustered leaves of acanthus and enclose a head in each were similarly, it would seem, devised in imitation of Roman work, in 1170, with a sporadic anticipation of the Renaissance. Yet once, at the very heart of the Royal Domain, may be found what looks like a reminiscence of the Apulian doorways (Fig. 8) in the original side portals of St.-Denis (Fig. 7). Here as at Traù appears, with the scrolls and slaves, what seems to be the true angle shaft.

Lastly, to the same idea of a scroll, involving sometimes figures but oftener mere interlacings and tendrils, and attributable, all too vaguely, to the centuries between 1100 and 1500, must be referred the so-called door-planks of carved wood that are found in the *stav* churches of Norway. All the elements are here: the slender shaft, the carved panel, and the pair of lions; nor are the capitals, most often covered with the same interlacing, at all different in kind from those at Milan and Pavia. Lombard and Viking are too far apart in time and space to postulate here any transmission; and the ecclesiologists may be right who would find the source of the designs in Irish

¹ Baum, *Romanesque Architecture in France*, p. 222.

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manuscripts, though I am not so sure. Certainly the planks from Ulvik church, now in the museum at Bergen (Fig. 12), display triple clusters of leaves like the early Byzantine marbles at the head of the Adriatic, which express how "the leaf-buds on the vine are woolly." In any case, the design has been altered by its translation into wood technique. Most likely this sort of thing came up overland, either by the old amber road or by the Danube way, from Serbia and Hungary, for in those countries, as in Armenia, the forms were popular for doors and windows alike. Another way may be traced north of the Carpathians, by which Armenians migrated once into Poland, and some went on into the Mark of Brandenburg and left there their sign manual, whence the way of the Elbe lies open to the Baltic. It is worth noting, moreover, that the lions are set at the top and not at the bottom of the door, unlike the Assyrian and Lombard lions, but like those at Indjir Khan and elsewhere in Asia Minor and at least one place in Armenia, and like those at Oloron, and Puente la Reyna and other places along the pilgrimage roads in Spain.

II

The flat slab as portal decoration did not originate in the mediaeval architecture of the West. It belongs not to an architecture of stone but to one of brick, that must be covered, or of the more precious marbles cut thin to use thriftily. Leaving out of account the great wall coverings of Mesopotamia and early Persia, the first instance that I know of slabs flanking a door, though Greek, is only half Greek: the pair of dancers once set in the gateway of a princely family's burial place (Fig. 39). Now in Vienna, the dancers from Gjöl-Baschi go back to the fifth century before Christ and to the southern parts of Asia Minor, and are simply a modification of such a theme as the Acropolis Victories; but comparison shows the shift, in the workman's intention, from plastic form to decoration and rhythmic design. The next convenient example lies in the seventh century of our era; the great pair of panels carved with leafage, returned on the face of the rock wall outside the cave of Taq-i-Bustan, which belonged to Chosroes II (590-628).

1

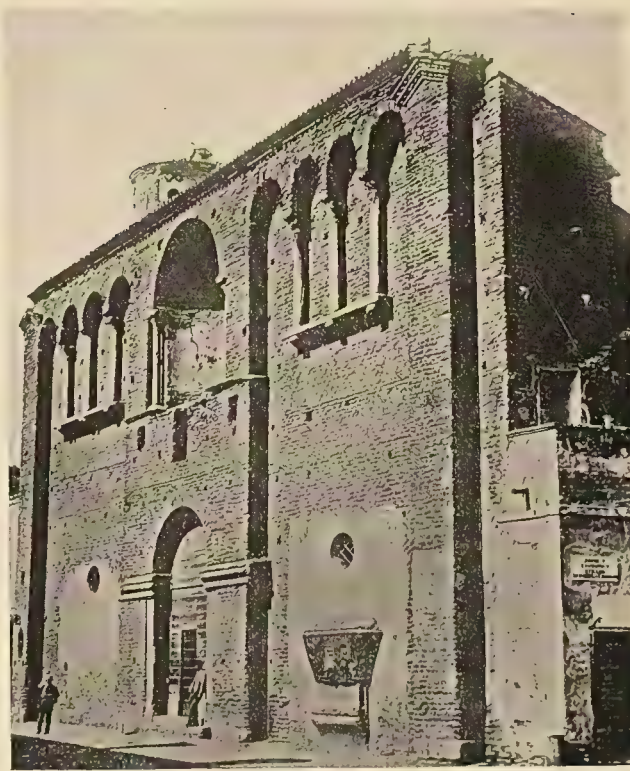
Coming to Italy, and to a region famous for builders whose ancient Roman craft never quite lost touch with the guild-mates active in Constantinople, coming to a church of which the triconch plan carries a presumption of Eastern acquaintance, we find that in the twelfth century, at S. Fidele of Como, men gave to the east door a gabled pediment and a pair of flanking slabs. There, on the southern side they carved the figure of Daniel between lions, in a barrel-vaulted and pillared crypt, and the Angel carrying Habakkuk.



19. Palace of Theodosius



20. Constantinople. Golden Gate



21. Ravenna. Gate-House of Theodoric

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In the strange and beautiful façade of S. Pietro at Spoleto the architect's intention was to place on either side of the portal a set of arcades delicately decorated, with a ground of cosmato work, in which the lowest panel was occupied by oxen, the topmost by peacocks, and the central by the symbolic stag. The rest of the façade is adorned in a wildly lovely mingling of Lombard and Byzantine styles. Not far away, at Orvieto, in the fourteenth century, the sculptured slabs were laid straight across the marble front of the cathedral, between and beyond the doors, beginning with a simple narrative in horizontal registers like that of Master Nicholas at Verona. Another carver at Orvieto abandoned this for the device of a Tree, first a Tree of Prophets, and then another of that Rose which flowered on the stem of Jesse—for this notion of a Tree was, as already remarked, very dear to the Middle Age, and Giottesque painters were to use it before long at Florence and Bergamo and at Barcelona as well. Lastly, beyond the south door the latest master oddly trained out his vine with horizontal branches, as trees are set against a pleached wall, with a *mandorla* at the top of the slab and at the bottom a place of sepulchres. Just what knowledge of the East could have been coming to this Sienese chantier by that time matters not at all. The point is rather that the great plastic genius of Tuscany asserted itself here, as in the pulpits of the Pisani, and transformed the type.

Meanwhile, at Verona, not long after 1138, Master Nicholas had planned the wide marble panels that were to relate what every man should know: the Creation, the Redemption, and the Wild Huntsman's Ride to Hell. How strongly decoration counted here, as at Spoleto, and in contrast to the banded carvings of the elder William at Modena, is apparent in the wreathed and panelled background of the panels that relate the creation of our first parents.

The intention, perhaps it should be repeated, is not to enumerate all the instances in which this form occurs, but only to select a few as typical or illuminating. The next that come to hand lie upon the Way of St. James.

One may be visited at Estella in Navarre, in the porch of a church dedicated to the Angel Psychopompos, guide and guardian of souls (Fig. 15). This is probably carving of the thirteenth century, and in style is markedly Spanish. At S. Andrés de Armentía, close to the shore road of returning pilgrims, the panels of the destroyed doorway presented the Harrowing of Hell and the Angel at the Tomb. The sculpture, now built into the porch, shows, except in the standing figures of Saints which were once upon the jamb shafts, a strong Byzantine influence, and the theme belongs to the cycle of the Wandering Spirits.¹ To a far-traveller again is dedicated S. Bartolomé

¹ For Crusaders and the Happy Other World, cf. Loomis, in *Art Bulletin*, vol. VI, no. 3, *Modena, Bari and Hades*. At Armentía is found the Sacrifice of Abraham, as at Souillac, on the trumeau, and it is inside the jamb at Trani and at Santiago. I do not fully understand the intention.

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of Logroño, where as late as the fourteenth century, upon the Way of St. James, was added a portal composition imitated partly perhaps from the other two but partly from the great Provençal façades. Above a fine blind arcading at door level is carried another series of shafts and canopies, enclosing statues in the lesser intervals and scenes in the wider, alternating, all practically in the round and free standing (Fig. 43). The Spanish group seems to be unique, as it is superb.

Not to be forgotten, though rarely named, are the panels at Santiago that enclose the eastern door of the ambulatory,¹ taken from the quire of D. Diego Gelmírez, and arranged as now in the course of rebuilding between 1603 and 1609 (Fig. 14). The twenty-four enigmatic figures, each in his rectangle with an arch indicated behind, are both plastic and dramatic in conception and must be attributed to the end of the twelfth or the opening of the thirteenth century, as contemporary with the Virgin and the Christ of León Museum and the pair of little Prophets in the cathedral cloister there (Fig. 25). To the Santiago sculptures might be appended as a note the record² of something seen long ago at Ancona: "The façade had some years ago, at the two sides beyond the porch, eighteen plaques of marble, on each of which a standing person in relief or simply incised like a tomb-slab, in the style of the twelfth century, later deposited in the crypt; they included David, the Virgin, and the angel Gabriel, St. John the Evangelist, Jeremiah, Habakkuk."

Likewise in memory of some such device, at Maguelonne, in the thirteenth century, the two slabs cut down most probably from an earlier tympanum were built in by the side of the door under the noble scrolled lintel that is dated 1178. In Perpignan a pair of Apostles in high relief on either side adorn the doorway, curious for other reasons, of the church of S. Joan el Vell. There seems no occasion to doubt their being intended for their present place, like the single remaining pair at St.-Guillaume-le-Désert.

Up the jambs of S. Clemente in Casauria (in the Abruzzi) the Prophets are set in their own tabernacles, flush with the wall-face. They are like the Wise and Foolish Virgins of St.-Denis in this; but they are also like the Prophets of Master Nicholas at Ferrara.

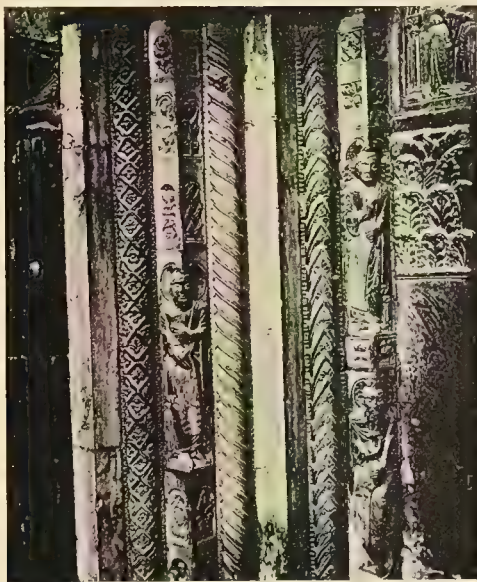
Alongside of the slabs carved with reliefs, found mostly in Italy and Spain, occur single figures set flat upon the door cheeks; on the portal of S. Maria of Toscanella the familiar Prophets with their scrolls were adapted with attributes to stand for Sts. Peter and Paul in the twelfth century; at Agramunt in Catalonia the same place is occupied by a pair of free-standing statues (Fig. 18) that I take, by their costume and by their octagonal haloes, for

¹ Gelmírez's quire, *España Sagrada*, vol. XX, p. 137; alteration, López Ferreiro, *Historia de la S.A.M. Iglesia*, vol. IX, p. 32; the present portal, p. 36, old drawing, p. 202. I am indebted to my friend Prof. Kenneth Conant for calling to my attention these passages.

² Julien Durand, *Monuments Figurés du Moyen-âge*, in *Bulletin Monumental* (1888), pp. 521-550.



22. S. Quirico d'Orcia



23. Ferrara. Door of Master Nicholas



24. Bergamo. Door of Master Moses

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Prophets like those painted on the retable of Granollers. The two slabs of Saints are treated in fairly low relief at St.-Michel-de-Cuxa, which lies by the valley of the Tet where once apparently as many travellers penetrated the Pyrenees as by the Tech. The narrow inward-looking face of the slab is adorned with *biches* (little animals) in roundels on one side and a scroll of leafage on the opposite (Fig. 9). At Leyre, in Navarre, to leave room for a shafted jamb, the figures are moved out upon the adjacent buttress face. But in the finest of the series, the side portal of Notre-Dame-du-Port at Clermont-Ferrand, the two figures of Prophets are very nobly disposed. The fact that in this group, while Toscanella is a Lombard foundation, Agramunt, Cuxa, and Clermont all show other Lombard traits, the Leyre of Master Foulques being frankly composite, suggests a common centre in the north of Italy, which I am unable to name.

At Vézelay (1132) the statues are crowded and huddled upon the door cheeks because the statued portal had not yet been conceived in its full splendor. But the thing was done already in another way farther south. At Moissac, at Beaulieu, and, more than all, at Souillac we are brought back with a rush of memory to the ritual figures of Gjöl-Baschi, their legs crossed, their heads swaying to the rhythm of their mystic dance. There is indeed an antique figure in the museum of Arles which preserves the memory of a Hellenic theme, Dancer or Victory, in the heart of the southern France which was Greek before it was Roman in the centuries before Christ, and candidly preferred Saracens to Franks in the ages that we call dark.

2

On the inner face of the portal the Great King set figures when he built Persepolis. Perhaps it was for lack of space suited to carved images, or perhaps it was for some half-magical illusion of personages that, entering, one passed, just as he put the procession of subject nations up the basement and along the ramp of the approach. From Khodsha Kalessi, in Isauria, Headlam¹ reported the presence of similar figures, nimbed Apostles, on the jambs of the convent portal. The church there is a building of the fifth century, but he gives no data about this, the gateway to the whole convent enclosure. Since Wood² found the same thing in a very early church door at Ephesus, there is a fair presumption that Eastern Christianity had adopted this position for the figures that perpetually stand and proclaim, "We are the witnesses," and was placing them literally "in the gates," as the Eastern phrase has it.

When Cremona was building, about 1106, Master William set four Prophets there to testify, calling, pointing at their scrolls to those who

¹ Headlam, *Isauria*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies, Supplementary Papers*, vol. I (1892), pp. 20 seqq.

² J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (1887), p. 57.

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passed in and out, as if Jeremiah should forget his lesson and cry, "Is it nothing to you?" These Cremona figures are probably the earliest of their sort in Europe, for the technique is that stubborn low relief like the carving on the granite or basalt gates of the East. At Modena the master extended his enumeration to include all the roll of Prophets. When Master Nicholas went to work on Verona Cathedral forty years or so after Cremona, and found not room on the shafted jamb for more than four Prophets on either side, he recalled his master and set the remaining two up in the same place, within the door.

Meanwhile at Santiago in the *Puerta de las Platerias* four statuettes were set high up in the face of the jambs, and the invention caught men's fancy, so that in Galicia not infrequently statues stand and lean under the lintel, as for instance on Santiago of La Coruña (Fig. 52). Some such thing may have been early intended for the puzzling south portal of S. Vicente in Avila, where Count Raymond and Queen Urraca were to have stood in a doorway, the Burgundian chantier having adapted the effigies from work presumably going on at Autun; but with a change in the personnel of the chantier, the seated figure of a King was substituted on one side and on the other a Virgin and announcing Angel, indebted for the technique of drapery to Vézelay. At Compostela in 1168 Master Matthew took up for his scheme of the western porch the composition of Master Bernard, his predecessor in the works. An Apostle and a Prophet (he happens to be Moses) stand inside the door.

By the main door at Zara¹ Prophets are placed in pairs, as if designed in imitation of Cremona and Modena. They are flat, and stand one above the other, but they have been applied to the outer pilaster. On the church of Nemanja at Studenica² the Apostles are set one above the other on the inside face, as they are at Barletta. In Agen,³ which had close relations with Santiago in the early years when the great church was building and the *Historia Compostellana* was writing, the motive turns up again in the chapter-house door as a relief, the whole inner face of the jamb being treated like a pilaster with elaborated enrichment. Strange figures of men and beasts, coarsely hewn in the unkind granite of Galicia, may be seen at S. Tirso de Mangas (on the Orense road, near Bandeira); and on the doorway of S. Pedro of Gerona, over in Catalonia, occurs an odd conjunction of motives, some magical, some symbolic, including the famous theme of the Three Rods (Fig. 29).

Various reliefs occurring in this situation have been mentioned already: the grotesques at Olite, the *biches* in roundels at Cuxa, the elongated scenes at Trani. This is the place selected at the baptistery of Pisa (1156), as on

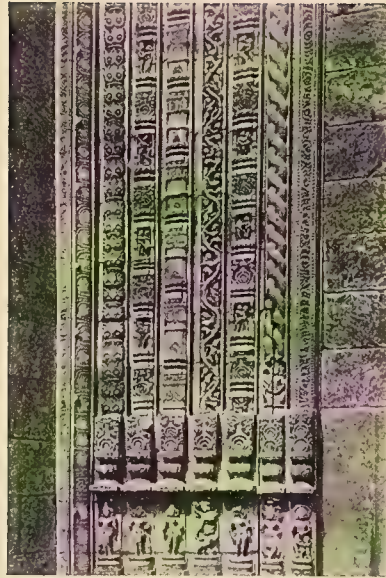
¹ Jackson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pl. V.

² Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

³ Porter, in *Art Bulletin*, vol. VII, no. 1 (1925), fig. 24.



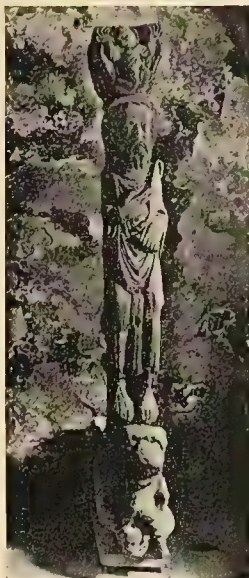
25. León. Cloister.
Two Prophets



27. Konara. Temple



28. S. Tirso de
Mangas. *Biches*



26. Chur. Crypt. Prophets or Apostles



29. Gerona. S. Pedro. Jamb Carvings



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the portal of Ripoll (1150), to present the Labors of the Months in identical neat rectangles, rather high in their relief (Figs. 36, 38).

Rare, then, and invariably surprising, is this second type of decoration, found often in places which lay away from the centres of imaginative conception or dominant tradition, but where a current of exotic experience flowed fresh and unchoked: Verona and the Via Emilia, the Way of St. James, the crusaders' seaports, and the Pyrenean river valleys. Yet, strangely enough, to just those doorway figures that were tried at Cremona and Compostela must be referred the rows of tiny seated symbolic personages that reappear suddenly in the Gothic of the Ile-de-France — Wise and Foolish Virgins, Virtues and Vices, vertically arranged, inside the western door at Chartres or Paris or Rheims (Fig. 45).

III

The central portal of Parma Cathedral, which was rebuilt after the earthquake of 1117 in the middle third of the twelfth century is adorned with shafts, some spiral, some covered with diaper corresponding in place, though not in pattern, to the mouldings of the arch above. An impost or shallow cornice runs along the porch, over the lintel, and at the proper points swells into what must serve as capitals. To say that arch mouldings are continued in the shafts, thus giving a logical sense of support, would be to rationalize unpardonably.

Because of the great beauty of this cathedral in its own style of Italian Romanesque, and because of the strong life of its chantier, which was before long to bring forth Master Benedict, it was here chosen as a type. Eastern influence is attested by the apses at transept ends; there is no other influence; the Lombard architecture expresses its own conscious completeness and fulfilment. The door just described may stand for the whole school of stepped and columned portals in Italy.

Just when and how the recessed and shafted doorway appeared, it is not easy to say; presumably at the same time with the square-edged Romanesque arch of two orders which is used around windows and doors as well as in the nave arcade, where it brings about some sort of compound pier with engaged and angle columns. Indeed, the jambs seem to have begun with engaged half- and quarter-columns.

As in other cases, the source would appear to be complex, and at least two separate things to have contributed: the imperial façades, wherever since the second century great columns carried an open arch under the pediment, as at Djerash, Spalato, and the pictured palaces of Theodosius (Fig. 19) and Theodoric; and the Mesopotamian buildings, with their tradition of

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arcading in multiple and recessed orders, as at Ctesiphon in the sixth century or the castle of El Asik at Samarra¹ in the ninth, or the African Tower of El-Kalaa² in the eleventh. The imperial contribution furnished the monumental aspect, the Asiatic, the decorative possibilities. In Italy the delicate shafting adorned with spiral and wreathing and a thousand varied patterns shows how often the frail colonnettes were conceived as ornament and not as support; while along a certain track in France the rich tri-dimensional diaper upon the shafts at Bourges and Chartres (Fig. 45) strikes back eastward again toward the style of the famous mosque columns at Dijarbekr.³

The shafted recessed doorway, then, is a Romanesque invention. Of the few anticipations of the form discoverable, some may be accidental and negligible, like a fifth-century ambon from Salonica, where the major and minor arcadings are juxtaposed. But others may very easily have inspired imitation: the Golden Gate of Theodosius at Constantinople (Fig. 20) and, derivative from that, the central arch in the upper story of the Gate-house at Ravenna that is called Theodoric's palace (Fig. 21). A marble slab at Pola,⁴ of the ninth century at latest, simulates an arch of two orders with corresponding colonnettes; it belongs to one of the minor cross-chapels that flanked the great abbey church of S. Maria in Canneto, whence came the columns of the ciborium at S. Marco.

To date the earliest appearance of the form in monumental building is not easy.⁵ Very probably it was in Armenia about the year 1000. The stepped and shafted portals of the cathedral of Ani⁶ (989-1001) show the form developing normally, in accordance with the arch and pier forms of the interior; the west door marks a beginning and at the south door appears the completed form. The monastery of Ketscharus supplies another set of examples; there the chapel of St. Gregory was built by Gregory *Magistros* in 1033, and the door on the south side shows nothing experimental. The west door of the antechapel (1243) and the north door of the *Kathoglike* (also thirteenth century), which seem to derive from the south door of Master Gregory, are as final as anything French of the same date. But the West would appear not to have known of this, as it remained for a while in ignorance of the pointed and reduplicated arch, the compound pier, and other good things that it ultimately discovered.

¹ From these parts came probably the Moslem angle shaft. See Note C.

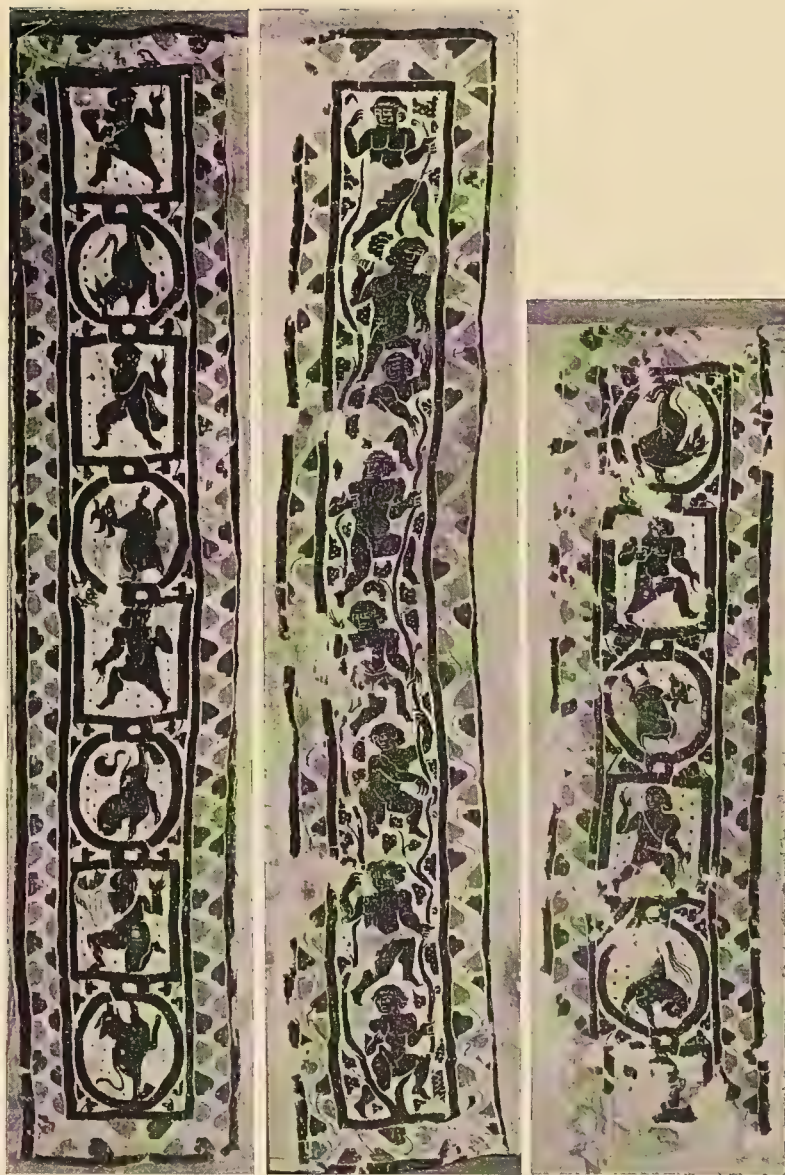
² Général de Beylie.

³ See Strzygowski, *Amida*, Plate XI, Fig. 3.

⁴ Sir Thomas Jackson sketched this forty years ago, but only lately he republished the drawing in conjunction with slabs from Toscanella and Rome (*Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture*, vol. I, fig. 28), and it is impossible to question his accuracy. All three slabs present the same Byzantine theme, the Cross between two trees.

⁵ Rivoira cites Montefiascone (S. Andrea, circa 1032); cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 266, 294, 362.

⁶ Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 325, 521, figs. 371, 566.



30. Boston Museum. Coptic Textile

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1

In Italy the invention must lie between the years of finishing S. Marco and S. Michele. The true or inner west wall of S. Marco does not recognize such a decoration for the embrasure, but ranges its colonnade against the front. The façade sets its serried rows of precious marble columns around a hemicycle or a rectangular recess, but they are simply applied against the continuous wall. The Lombard architect of 1063, Master Mazuole,¹ knew no other way. Master Adam at Milan in 1098 was setting quarter columns in his angles, and in Pavia shortly afterward the column and recess were felt more strongly. But already at Santiago, by 1105, Master Bernard,² who was not for nothing called *Magister Mirabilis*, had decorated the transept portals with three lovely shafts each under strong archivolt, one of polished granite, one twisted in spirals, adorned with a stylized vine, and the third of marble covered with little figures under arcading, like those which had been fetched from Pola to S. Marco.

In the ancient Lombard capital at Pavia, on the doors of S. Michele, where the style is rich and sappy, or on those of S. Pietro in Cielo d' Oro (1132), which are more precise and more expert, appears a disposition to put on the ornament rather like one hanging up painted cloths. Roughly speaking, the style may be considered as inherited from the Carolingian and for convenience may be called barbaric. The portals of Cremona and Parma have been discussed already; to them may be added the door at Bergamo, designed by Moses and his brother in 1137 and finished within the following half-century (Fig. 24); they all show how the shafted style was formed and modified in the twelfth century upon renewed contact (political and commercial) with the East,³ in the general expansion of the great Lombard and Emilian communes. Proportion, order, the alternation of plain with patterned members, reassert themselves, and the spiral and the tri-dimensional diaper reappear. This type, easily recognizable, was early defined and long continued. In a place midway between it and the barbaric conceptions of Pavia belongs the extraordinary invention of Master Nicholas which he set upon cathedrals, at Ferrara in 1135 and at Verona as soon as he could thereafter.

In the stepped and shafted door jambs at Parma and Cremona the salient angles were moulded, worked away. At Ferrara they became the main field

¹ Testi and Rodolico, *Le Arti Figurative nella Storia d'Italia*, pp. 303, 304, 313; plan, fig. 336. Doge Domenico Contarini (1043-71) threw down the old basilica and in 1063 (or 1052) began rebuilding it, "*accitus igitur Constantinopoli primariis architectis*"; at his death "*nondum completa*." Doge Domenico Selva (1071-84) in 1074 sent out a general demand for columns, "*per ogni parti marmori at colonne per farle più degna*"; it was consecrated in 1085.

² See Note D, The Dates of Santiago.

³ A curious Indian parallel to the Ferrara and Bergamo decoration seems to have developed in the thirteenth century at Konarka (Fig. 27). For ease and frequency of intercourse between Bergamo and the East cf. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, 145, 197.

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for ornament. While the shafts are merely enriched in their moulding with decoration of spiral, chevron, and diaper (this last tending on the whole to revert to two principal planes roughly parallel, as in the coffering of a ceiling), the strong rectangular members (in two out of the four on each side) carry all sorts of devices, enclosed within rectangles, knots, sprays of leafage, rosettes, fabulous monsters, and statuettes of prophets almost in the round. The substance of the stone is cut away about the figures so that they stand with feet flat in a recess, and the sharp right angle of the edge above curls down like a breaking wave, cutting and bending the halo. The effect is like a widow's coif. It is an arrangement both logical and decorative (Fig. 23). At Verona,¹ however, the Prophets are simply engaged upon the column, adossed, and the ornamentation above and below them reduced to a sort of scheme, with more animals, fewer knots, and something nearer to uniformity. Aside from the known dating, the portal of Ferrara is manifested as the earlier, the first flower of a rare genius.

For the little figures of animals it would be convenient to borrow a Spanish name for small creatures and call them *biches*. They are not unknown to antique art. A few appeared already at Baalbek in the small hexagons of the coffering and between the corbels under the cornice at Spalato. On each face of a dodecagonal base excavated at Didymes,² a rectangle encloses a leaf or an animal. On a sarcophagus at Termessos such rectangles enclose a frieze of beasts just under the lid; they are separated by a conventional motive, and urn and vine scroll adorn the end pilasters. In Coptic frescoes of the sixth century at Bawit and Saquara such compartments, rectangular or hexagonal, are set to break up the frieze of intricate meander, and enclose now a sagittary and again a gazelle, and the like. Thence apparently they were copied into textiles as they had been copied from marbles (Fig. 30). On the cathedral flank at Verona the Coptic rinceaux enclosing figures are to be found (Fig. 6), and on the baptistery at Parma the polygons are carried straight around the building at a given level, like a low frieze. These I do not conceive to be the models for the *biches* that climb so uncannily up the angle of the jamb at Milan, Moissac, Armentía, and Ripoll, which seem to belong rather to the fauna of the Black Sea. But the Parma reliefs, set in roundels or octagons, are very fine, essentially plastic, and already dramatic in their juxtapositions; it is from their like that we must derive the panels on the Campanile at Florence and not from the French carvings which at Amiens or Paris, Lyons

¹ Anent the Prophets another word which was to have been said was happily forestalled by Professor Porter in the *Art Bulletin* last spring. It remains only to recall that, in the good times when sobriety was the rule in France, a French savant, discussing some liturgical sources of mediaeval art, had laid down the principle that the presence of the Prophets on the Italian churches must be traced directly to the use there in the Christmas Office of the pseudo-Augustinian sermon. (J. Durand, *op. et loc. cit.*)

² Wiegand, *Didymes*, pp. 70, 72, 151, 153; *Städte Pamphyliens*, vol. II, p. 111, fig. 78.



31. Constantinople Museum.
Sculpture from Aphrodisias



33. Oslö. Museum.
Column from Church
of Nisland



32. Verona. Pillar in Cloister



34. Santiago de Com-
postela. Puerta de las
Platerias. Colonnnette

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or Rouen, very likely have an origin identical and independent. Like the sculpture of an apologue from *Baarlam and Josaphat*, on the western tympanum at Parma, the presence of this motive there reiterates the assurance of Eastern contacts. The Coptic textile now in Boston, the fountain basin of Master Nicholas and his workmen at Perugia, the pier-bases at Amiens, all point back to a source that lies eastward from the Mediterranean; a conception of ornament that prefers variety in similarity, and an equal stress, to centralized composition, with supremacy and subordination.

Recurring to the *biches*, other cases in point are those on the Souvigny pier, and those from a sculptured portal at Skoplje in Serbia,¹ which cannot be earlier than 1190. What, at S. Coloma de Queralt, seems at first glance like a last starveling off-shoot of the theme dying out in Catalonia, may be due to a fresh grafting. Here the rectangles, with beasts or rosettes or leafage, are set like plaques up a cylindrical shaft at regular intervals and while they look comically like the discs at Buddha Gaya, their right parallel had better be sought in the street-gate at Petra.²

Tuscany, building in marble, or in brick with thin marble plating, had no proper place for the recessed portal. At Lucca, a city very rich in vestiges of an elder art, memories Etruscan and Imperial, Lombard and Oriental, the master set smooth pilasters of marble under the lintel and mighty columns of marble under the archivolt. Just how the superb arches of Diocletian's and Theodosius's palaces struck upon the imagination of wayfaring traders and pilgrims in the Romanesque age is plainly to be seen at S. Maria Forisportam, and this is the typical Lucchese door (Fig. 1). Diotisalvi of Pisa at S. Cristoforo, drawing from Byzantine and not Syrian inspiration, alternated with the shafting the banded marble of the wall. Along with this at the main door of the cathedral a "coloristic" inlay of black and white was added to the shadow-pattern of a carved column like the Pisan. Then, with no sense of alteration or change, the bishop erected for his palace in 1499 a portal comparable with those of imperial Syria, each element of which may be found in Rome of the pagan age (Fig. 5). At the same hour, as already observed, in the Certosa di Pavia, appeared the East-imperial door that may still be identified (Fig. 4).

Presumably Florence, and certainly Siena and Orvieto, being Gothic, multiplied the clustering shafts in the doorway but carved the principal ones most choicely in emulation of the exquisite Pisan columns that Buschetto (1063-80) and, following him, Diotisalvo, set about the doors of the cathedral and the baptistery. These cathedral columns of Pisa were fetched from overseas, they are too short for their position, and the carving at the bottom where

¹ Millet, *op. cit.*, figs. 169-173.

² Wiegand, *Petra*, p. 54, fig. 47; Puig y Cadafalch, *L'Arquitectura Romanica a Catalunya*, vol. III, p. 784.

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they are pieced out is a barbarous thing, not to be credited, one hopes, to that Master Rainaldus *mire soliter et ingeniose*. But the three rare and precious exterior pairs, with the shafts of Traù, are conceived completely in the Byzantine intention as things valuable and delightful in themselves, like a ring gem-set or the enamel plaque on a bishop's glove. Just so at Constantinople, both in Hagia Sophia of the sixth century and in the Kahrié-Djami of the twelfth, the inner wall above the entrance is embellished with a dark rectangle of marble lovely beyond comparison for texture and color and lustre. This is the furthest point that non-representational art can attain, and is entirely Eastern.

Two or three Spanish variants of the decorated shaft may be named at this point. In Carrión de los Condes on the portal of Santiago (Romanesque of the thirteenth century) an Angel in relief is *appliqué* at the head of the chevroned jamb-shaft, as you would fold a piece of metal around, by a device which, though absurd, does not displease, but was never, so far as I know, repeated. On the twelfth-century Gloria of Master Matthew at Compostela the shafts of the north door are enwrapped spirally with a long garland of rinceaux and *putti*, in the Aphrodisias vein. These are an elaboration of those already described on the south transept.

The marble shafts of the *Puerta de las Platerias*, which have been compared already with the Venetian ciborium supports from Pola, carry four rows of figures under shafted arches (Fig. 34). Identical in intention though gigantic in scale is the famous thirteenth-century transept pillar of Strassburg. A single band of figures under arcades encircles the middle of a Paschal candlestick, said to come from the south of Italy, which was sold in New York last winter. Further, a sole surviving colonnette from the *stav* church of Nisland in Telemarken, preserved in the museum of Oslö, is sculptured with bands of little scenes under arcades (Fig. 33); and besides the columns from Pola a parallel to it exists in a pillar in the Verona cloister, similarly carved, though the arcading, to complicate the matter, is cusped (Fig. 32). In short, this device, invented for minor and decorative uses, was adapted to structural positions in places very far-off, and came back, apparently on an Oriental wave, as the cusping signifies.

2

So far, it has been surprising how little France has entered into this consideration; coming to the recessed doorway adorned with statues, the main interest is transferred to France. The portal furnished with a series of smooth shafts with capitals and bases is, of course, the one typical of French Gothic, as, of English Gothic, are the innumerable mouldings and the ornaments of dog-tooth, ball-flower, and four-petalled flower. But precisely as the mas-



35. St.-Gilles. Detail



37. Aix-en-Provence. Capital
from Cathedral Cloister



39. Göl-Baschi. Dancers



36. Ripoll. Labors of the Months



38. Pisa. Labors of the Months

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sive wall and thick buttress of French builders recessed the mighty doorways so deeply as to call for monumental decoration, so at the supreme hour in all we now call France, first in the south, then moving northward, came a flowering of plastic genius that lasted into the Renaissance, like a late spring in the far north at Rouen and Troyes, till in Normandy Jean Goujon was born and in Lorraine Ligier Richier.

This discussion being concerned merely with the door jambs, and the subject of French doorways having been pretty well threshed and winnowed already, no more now is needed than to express briefly opinions and the reason for them.

All rare and sudden art is either a graft or a hybrid. St.-Gilles was begun in 1116, and by 1140 the façade must have been completed up to the frieze, that being well under way. The work at Arles, if about contemporary in the cloister, is certainly a little later (about 1152) on the façade. The great beauty of St.-Gilles has bewildered ecclesiologists, who, in comparing it with St.-Trophîme, have been at a loss to explain the difference. Not in the priority and freshness, not in the greater excellence of the sculpture, nor in the Oriental aspect of some of the ornament, but in the character of the space composition does this difference consist, if I understand aright, the façade being composed with a great concern for the third dimension, that perpendicular to the plane of the wall. The same architectural conception, supposedly Alexandrian, is represented in the mosaics of St. George of Salonica and the Ravenna baptistery. It is quite unlike that in the representation of Theodoric's palace at S. Apollinare Nuovo or in the Bethlehem mosaics. In St.-Trophîme the classical disposition to compose architecture essentially in two dimensions reasserts itself; and only in the great porches of the north of France does this special beauty of space composition reappear in full freedom. It is apparently sympathetic to the French genius of the Romanesque age; the transept porches of Bourges show it, and in it must be sought an explanation of the charm at St.-Loup-de-Naud. It is a subject that I hope to discuss fully before long, and had a part in the development of the sculpture upon door jambs, being in some ways accountable for the drift toward a deep portal that is characteristic of all the mediaeval architecture of France.

It is a question whether the striking preference shown in the south of France for jamb figures in pairs — those at Toulouse, at St.-Guillaume-le-Désert, and at Perpignan may serve for instances — is not to be traced to their standing thus at St.-Gilles within the embrasure, as the personages are placed upon a Roman arch. For at St.-Gilles Roman imitation would be a *vera causa*. To St.-Gilles (as the source) may surely be traced the figures in pairs which appear at Romans, in the abbey of the Magdalen at Vézelay, and under the arches in the reconstructed antechapel of the Cámara Santa

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at Oviedo. The use at Romans can be connected with the great Provençal abbey by reason of propinquity; at Benedictine Vézelay by a double association, through St. Mary Magdalen in Provence and through Cluny, the greatest of Benedictine houses in Burgundy; at Oviedo through the foundation of Alfonso VI of Castile, his ties with Burgundy and his journeys. D. Alfonso gave the endowment to Oviedo in 1075,¹ and he was a benefactor and frequent visitor at Cluny, whither the pilgrimage road led past St.-Gilles, as Aymery Picaud recites.

But the perfection of this Provençal art was of no longer duration than the life of a man. If Brunus from St.-Gilles sent a workman to Romans, yet there the sculptor worked alongside of men who were already chiselling the Syrian palm-trunk over one shaft and cutting another in a diaper that depended on shadow for its pattern, like the columns at Dijarbekr and the frieze at Mschatta. More especially the great abbeys of St.-Gilles and St.-Trophime are set apart by the purity of their art. It is autochthonous, lineally descended from the imperial sculpture of the first few centuries of our era in a tradition of sculpture never intermitted; and one is tempted to say that, if the father was a Roman, the mother was an Eastern slave. This lineage came to sudden power and splendor when the land had its own Renaissance, wrecked and ruined too soon by vassals of the King of France and the King of England.² The Roman monuments by the sea and by the Rhône, the ivories that went out from St.-Victor and the sarcophagi that accumulated at Les Alyscamps, the seafarers on the quays at Marseilles and Toulon — all are there to-day to testify. What came by the Via Emilia and the *Chemin de St.-Jacques* must be reckoned also, but is not the cause. This art is not a graft but a true hybrid, and so, I believe, is that of Toulouse.

At the cathedral of Toulouse the cloister had been begun by 1117, but the figures³ which once stood about the door of the chapter-house were carved a quarter of a century later, from 1140 on. Being only about three and a half feet high, these pairs of figures, it seems probable, were set in two ranges on the angles of the outermost jambs and on two trumeaux between the windows and the door where *Gilabertus* put his signature and expended his

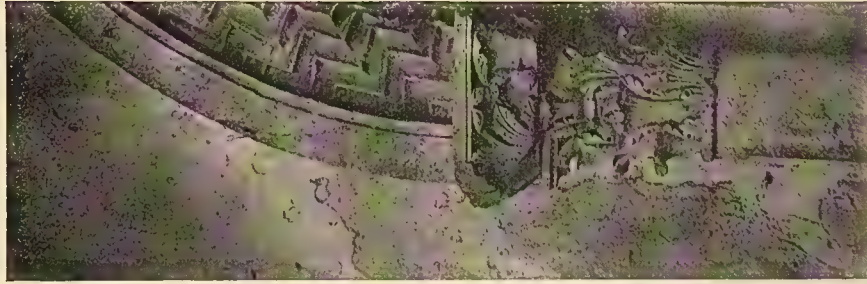
¹ In 1075 Alfonso VI kept Lent at Oviedo, and the *arca* of the Cámara Santa with its precious relics was opened; he made a rich donation for restoring the *arca* and for its general upkeep, which seems to have implied a necessary rebuilding of the antechapel. The cathedral had a good deal of litigation in the matter, but the work was planned and put through early in the twelfth century. *España Sagrada*, vol. XXXVII.

² Cf. G. G. King, *Avignon and Carcassonne*, in *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, 1923. For ivories, see E. Baldwin Smith, in *Art Studies*, vol. II (1924), pp. 85-122.

³ Cf. plan in Lahondès, *Les Monuments de Toulouse*, pp. 56, 57, fig. 43. For convenience of reference the Apostles as identified are appended. Pairs: (1) Sts. Paul and Peter, by attributes; (2) Sts. Simon and Jude, whose feast is kept together, with the scroll of the letter to King Abgar; (3) St. Matthew with the codex of his Gospel and St. Philip, beardless, with his Acts; (4) St. John, beardless, with Gospel, and St. James Major with *Protevangel* and face like Christ's. Single figures: St. James Minor, Bishop of Jerusalem, with double-barred cross of the Holy Sepulchre; St. Bartholomew, with his Acts; St. Thomas and St. Andrew, inscribed as well as signed.



40. Arles, Capital in Museum



41. La Charité-sur-Loire.
Capital beside Tympanum



42. Arles, St.-Trophime

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labor. If he selected two far-travellers, St. Thomas and St. Andrew, for this honour, that *vir non incertus* knew what he was about; he had travelled at least as far as to Ferrara; for he took over with the composition of inset sculpture repeated at successive levels the curious angle niche and its dip at the centre like the peak of a widow's coif. In Ferrara this was necessitated by the device of the decoration; in Toulouse it was imitative. The disciples to whom he left the flanking groups were free and inventive, and went back for models to the past of their own inheritance. In one pair of statues, especially, they betray this, for the tight curls of St. Matthew and the whole modelling of St. Philip beside him reveal acquaintance with the antique. The dancing posture with crossed legs may be referred to ancient marbles that had survived, like the dancer at Arles, or to a new and sudden intercourse by which the twelfth century in Europe was more than once to touch the heart of Asia. The convention of crossed legs had particularly imposed itself on India, just at this time thrown open to travellers from the West by the favorable conditions of the great Moslem empires. Such figures¹ may still be found at Amaravati thus posed to indicate walking, and on the enclosure of a *stupa* at Mathura to suggest dancing, as at Gandhara long before. Indeed, at Bhubaneswara at this very epoch (in the twelfth century or the thirteenth) Indian workmen carved a dancer which, in turn and posture, is far nearer to the Prophet of Souillac than is the angel of the Winchester manuscript.

It is a curious testimonial to the debt of Master Gilabert toward Master William's Italian prophets, who must by definition carry each a scroll and bear witness to their Lord, how these apostles copied after them, — regardless of canonical authorship which is limited to only six of the chosen Twelve and includes Peter and Paul among those, — should here all carry literature barring Peter and Paul who have attributes instead. The iconography was taken over, but thereafter justified, for indeed the writings in question were real enough to the carvers, though infrequently referred to; they were the apocryphal Acts involved in the accusations of heresy against Albigensians and others.

But these figures at Toulouse are not strictly imitative; they are rarer and more troubling in their beauty than the sculptures of Provence. The dramatic interrelation, the passionate gesture, the terrible poignancy, are like the poetry precisely contemporary. Jaufre Rudel and William of Cabestany are their younger brethren.

For the cathedral cloister the date 1117 is a *terminus post quem*, being based on burials which presumably might have taken place before the work was completed; but for that of La Daurade the earliest date, 1205, is a *terminus ante quem*, for Count Raymond VI had called an assembly there in

¹ Cohn, *Indische Plastik*, fig. 3, pls. 17-19, 56, Foucher, *L'Art Greco-Bouddhique de Gandhara*, fig. 338.

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July of that year, so that the stone-cutters must have finished and cleared away. The sculptures of La Daurade are adjusted in the same way as at St.-Etienne to a convention of shallow niches; they consist of a charming matronly crowned Virgin with a central tabernacle all her own, and six jamb figures,¹ David, Solomon and Sibylla, and three more Prophets. The six statues which the museum catalogue calls Prophets, set against small columns, crowned and holding perfume-balls, must be the Elders of the Apocalypse.

To follow out into Spain the record of Master Nicholas' success in launching a new motive, it should be added that a set of eight Prophets exists at Estella, carved presumably for jambs, and now built into the wall above the fine slabs already spoken of (Fig. 15). Another series is represented by a beautiful pair at León, carved on one slab, which was knocking about the cloister in 1914 (Fig. 25). Earlier than either of these, not certainly designed for jambs at all and not probably indebted to Toulouse, are the two noble figures of Apostles which are now over a door in Oviedo cloister.

3

So far as considered, the great early work of Languedoc and Provence has not shown the column statue. The form might have grown from such coupled Apostles as at Romans stand upon a base and below a capital; and indeed at the angles in the cloister of St.-Trophime, about the middle of the century, they were set to stand, singly — that however is not a doorway. On a portal of the church dedicated to St. Lazarus, at Avallon in Burgundy, a single figure extends from capital to plinth as if the Saints that Brunus set up in couples on each side a door were divided, one for each side. This figure, so abnormally elongated to fill the lofty embrasure, represents the Burgundian adaptation of the Provençal conception. The date is about the end of the first third of the twelfth century; Vézelay was standing, St.-Denis was not begun, the sculpture of Chartres was not dreamed of.

Meanwhile, somewhere else the form may have arisen spontaneously, as at La Daurade, from the desire for more figures than the jambs proper would accommodate. Presumably it was first seen in France between the dates of the two cloisters of Toulouse.

For the ecclesiology of the south of France dates of any sort are few; most are reached by comparison and nearly all are disputed. In despair of finding the real first occurrence in the south, one may as well fall back upon Valcabrère, with its remains and reminiscence of the antique, as a perfect

¹ The description of Du Mège (quoted in Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, p. 243), who had seen the cloister before its demolition in 1813, cannot represent the original state, for the Virgin was intended manifestly as a central figure and the others pair off; the great importance of the passage is that it attests the presence of column figures in the recessed jambs.



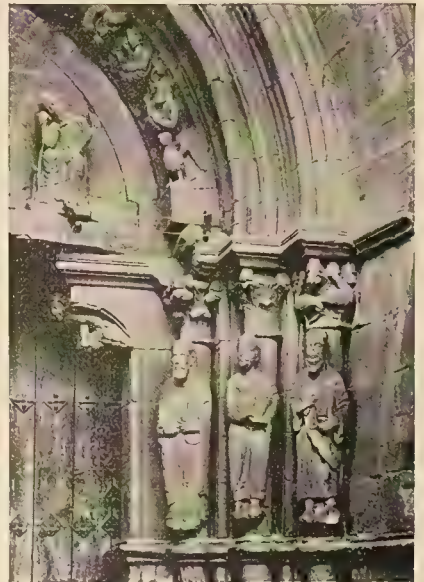
43. Logroño. Portal of S. Bartolomé



44. Valcabrère. Portal



45. Chartres. West Door.
Detail



46. Benavente. Portal of S. Juan.
(Porter phot.)

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hypothetical instance of what must have happened (Fig. 44). Roman work was all about, Roman rinceaux are built into the transept wall within the very ancient church, and like Roman statues, the four Spanish Saints stand up in the angles of the portal on their own pedestals, the columns being cut away to admit them. This was done before 1140 — a good while before.¹ The work is true archaic, like Donatello's. On the portal of Ripoll (about 1150) the two Saints stand with bare feet wide apart, oddly provided with separate pedestals (Fig. 36). On the other hand, the thirteenth-century Prophets in a crypt at Chur, which were saved from a destroyed portal, have downward-turning feet, sandalled, and stood once apparently against a true column. They are Lombard in many ways, though the lion underfoot has grown into something more like a wolf, and the crouching slave overhead has grown into a figure of devotion not ungraceful (Fig. 26). The jamb figure incorporate with the column, then, or supplanting it, seems to have priority. It may be seen often enough in Spain, being naturalized there; but a special case is that at Armentía (carved under Bishop Rodrigo Cascante, 1146–1190); there the forms of the standing Saints seem to fall in with the group to be considered in the following paragraph.

Where, on the roads that run up from the mouths of the Rhône, workmen were tramping northward, we can follow some of them by a peculiar sort of sculpture (Figs. 35, 37, 40–42). It begins on the façade of St.-Gilles, in a scroll of the great rinceaux that took inspiration from the antique. It was copied twice at Arles, and prized, for the two capitals that it decorated occupy the centre on the two wings of the façade. It is found on another capital in the museum there. It was copied, very beautifully, at St.-Sauveur of Aix. It is said to appear at the sanctuary of Le Puy, and on the Via Emilia at Parma. I have seen it on the *camino francés* at Torres, and elsewhere in Spain. At Vermanton (not later than 1140) it reappears in conjunction with typical jamb figures now utterly ruined, in which, as at Armentía and Valcabrière, the figure is still incorporate with the column. Next it is found, unrolled a little, at La Charité-sur-Loire on the left-hand capital of the Transfiguration tympanum, where it serves to mark, along with the provenance, the dependence of the sculpture of the south bay portal at Chartres, and the priority of that of La Charité.²

For beyond the Transfiguration tympanum and the superb pattern (a sort of chevron or meander) that rounded above the arch of it, lies Bourges.

¹ Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française*, vol. I, pp. 162, 452. The dates of M. Enlart are so vague, so general, and so unsupported, that they can serve only as a sort of *terminus ante quem*.

² While correcting the proofs of this article in Tarragona, the writer was able to identify the same scrolls of foliage, grown autumnal now, *marcito*, on a capital in the south apse of Tarragona Cathedral, with a leaf-motive on the adjoining impost copied from the lintel of Maguelonne. This must stand as proof positive that the Norman Ringlets in chain-mail whose effigies lie so quietly in the Diocesan Museum did not bring this architecture from

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That great plexus of tendencies and influences has not been enough studied yet. But the scroll capital is plain (Fig. 2) on the north transept portal. The same form unrolled constitutes the lintel there at Bourges, as rosettes make up a lintel at Moissac and rinceaux at Maguelonne. The tri-dimensional diaper of the shafts, which copies in one instance that of La Charité and again repeats it with rosettes added, and is everywhere splendid and exotic as the column diaper of Chartres, marks somehow a direct experience of the East, as the lintel and its design mark experience of the *Midi*. On both transepts at Bourges the statues are still partially incorporate with the columns and the canopies over them are oddly adjusted, with the innovator's awkwardness. The south porch is the older; the north porch it is which draws from La Charité and St.-Gilles, and perhaps from Vermanton, in the jamb figures with their elongated grace; but the last suggestion is very doubtful, for the reason that the Virgin of Vermanton is so individual, so unmistakable in her distinction and beauty, that I have thought to recognize her beyond questioning in several other places, calling her Our Lady of the Long Road. But the present concern lies with the figures at Bourges.

This is still round-arched work; it is what we mean when we praise Romanesque: the forms plastic, the decoration insistent, the figures exotic, expressive, heavily fraught with suggestion; the whole, in a strange and difficult but perfectly recognizable way, magical. The height of all this is to be found at Bourges and Chartres. In the same group, Le Mans has the advantage of an accepted date, 1158, but less absolute beauty. Great loveliness exists in a monument known to few travellers, in southern Champagne, St.-Loup-de-Naud (Fig. 49). In the study of this priory no known dates are explicit, but 1144 and 1160 are important; the sculpture, which is manifestly later than the building of the porch, seems to fall into a place after the great façade of Chartres was built and before it was rebuilt — say, 1160–1170. The patterned colonnettes and the tabernacles that the colonnettes carry exist only on the arcaded lintel; the whole composition of lintel and tympanum bears the same relation to the composition at Bourges and Chartres that the *Apostolado* of Moarbes bears to that of Carrión, save that here the art is neither provincial nor desiccated. As at Valcabrière, the figures stand upon their own bases, here well moulded, above the jutting angle of the jambs and below the corresponding salient of the impost, between which and the heads is imposed a fantastic capital of two orders. The arches of tympanum and porch are

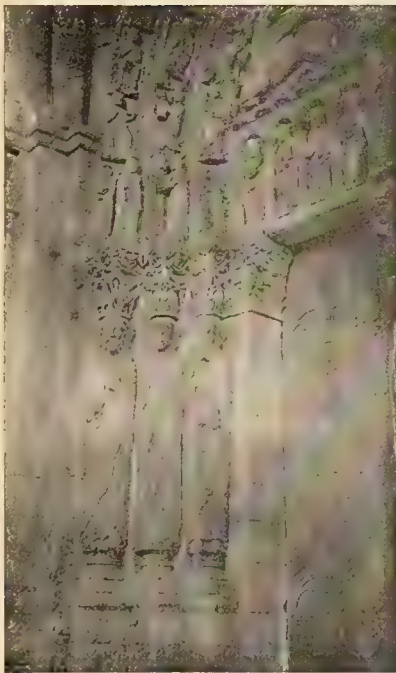
the North when Robert of Normandy came in 1128, but that it travelled by the Mediterranean shore. The credit lies more likely with Bishop Olaguer than with Bishop Hugh, and Street's tentative dating is probably right, as usual. (Cf. *Gothic Architecture in Spain*, new ed., II, 23, 43). The carver of the cloister portal took the scroll from the apse and altered it, then set it on the impost of both door jambs. By this time it becomes more purely decorative, and almost spherical: the workman was probably Moslem. Again it is found where the roads of pilgrimage ran, at Aguilar de Campó and Zarita del Paramo.



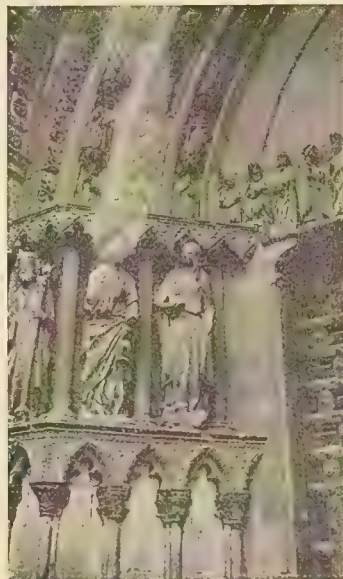
47. Vermanton



48. Ciudad Rodrigo



49. St.-Loup-de-Naud



50. Burgo de Osma



51. Cluny. Portal,
after Sagot's Lithograph

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pointed. Although there are no shafts in this portal, affinity with Bourges remains, unquestionably, when all differences are allowed. At St.-Ayoul, in Provins, as happens often, the local chantier has carried on later work, not so good, in a parish church chiefly important to this investigation because that very inferiority brings out a resemblance to Vermanton, as poor relations will show the family likeness.

Meanwhile, in Burgundy and in the Ile-de-France the great abbeys had been setting statues on their own bases against the principal shafts. The base, whether the upper member of a sort of capital misapplied in the middle of the shaft, or simply a fungoid enlargement, was always a bracket, and may conveniently be called a mushroom. Cluny (1130) has none. It has only rinceaux on the jamb proper and colonnettes ornamented variously like the Italian type (Fig. 51). At Dijon (before 1145) four statues were aligned on each side; the angles above the level of the mushroom bases are masked by colonnettes, though below they are plain. St.-Denis comes next in order; and lastly, the supreme splendour of Chartres.

The question of St.-Denis, though awkward, must be considered. The crypt was begun in 1140 and the choir consecrated in 1144. Now in various ways we know absolutely that churches in the centre and north of France were ordinarily erected beginning at the east end, and the church was built straight up. Therefore time must be allowed for a great deal of work to be finished before the architect reached the façade. On the other hand, we know, from documents in one case and from extant remains in another, that at St.-Sernin and St.-Gilles respectively the entire church was laid out from apse to portal and slowly reared in a horizontal progression; so that the façade might be rising as early as the crossing was roofed for consecration. That generally gives priority to southern dates over northern where the few dates existent may seem to coincide. But Suger says positively that at St.-Denis he rebuilt the east and the west ends first, and the nave afterwards, and that the procession at the consecration of the first three chapels went in through three doors where only one had been.

The abbey has been assumed as the source and fount of all the best in France and elsewhere throughout the twelfth century; the work as I know it seems curiously limited and often reminiscent. Since the days of good King Dagobert the art of the smith had engaged the attention of the great, and Godefroy de Claire is admitted to have played a notable part. Here much of the jamb carving betrays the technique of metal work. For instance, the leafless vine scrolls of the south portal, bound together by a lion mask in relief and the border of bosses and pearl, might have been forged by S. Loy on his anvil in the one case and in the other case chiselled or enamelled on his goldsmith's bench where he made S. Godebert's wedding ring

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(Fig. 7). Nordic art this seems to be, non-plastic, not monumental. Yet the figure that holds up the corner (though it is possible that it was taken over from Beaulieu bodily), the lions under the angle shafts, the scrolls, and the compartments belong to the Italian, perhaps to the Adriatic, cycle (Fig. 8). So do the eight little figures under tabernacles, sunk, four and four, in a row up the jamb proper. Montfaucon preserved a record of the figures adossed upon the jamb shafts; they must in any case be later than those of St.-Bénigne at Dijon, engraved for Dom Plancher. They are also later than those of Master Nicholas at Verona. With the remainder of the sculptures we have here no concern; but it is plain that Suger, good worthy man, an old politician, who had been to Italy once, pottering with his symbols and his mottoes and his autobiography, was not in so good a position as his contemporaries in Provence and Toulouse, not by half.

So the case rests. Of statues adossed on colonnettes the sequence runs thus: —

Cluny, before 1130, has none; Verona Cathedral, after 1139, has Prophets, and Roland and Oliver to boot, conspicuous to catch the eye of Frenchmen homeward bound; Dijon, before 1145, at the Benedictine church of St.-Bénigne, has assorted figures; St.-Denis, after 1144, has kings and queens; so has St.-Germain-des-Prés; so has Chartres.

Of statues set within the angles, the shaft being negligible, the origin may be sought in the work of Brunus and others at St.-Gilles and Romans, about 1130; then comes Vézelay, 1132; and the cloister at Arles. Thereafter, in the lack of accepted dates, any sequence must lie among examples merely representative, as the motive goes north to Chartres (the transept portals being included now) along more than one road: by Angers and Le Mans, or by Bourges and Étampes, or by Avallon and Vermanton to Provins and St.-Loup-de-Naud.

At Chartres all culminates; the excellence of the sculpture on the west front of Chartres is that of an ending and not of a beginning. Here is ripeness and fulfilment, the last exquisite aftermath of Romanesque. The question is not of building dates but of style. The Byzantine vine wreath has come back upon the very slender shafts that mask the angles; the shafts that carry statues are carved with rich diapers essentially tri-dimensional, the like of which is scarcely left in the world between Bourges and Diyarbekr. On the transept porches the figures are restored to their proper estate of statuary, but only perhaps at Rheims is the convention of the pillar to be definitively abandoned, for the first time since leaving St.-Gilles, and never seriously to be resumed. Consideration of space and logic alike forbid following this fresh Gothic art into a new domain.



52. La Coruña. Santiago. Portal



55. Hiniesta. Arcaded Porch



54. Ujué. S. Maria. Portal



53. Calatayud. S. Jaime. Portal

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4

In Spain the convention of the figure-bearing column was restricted to certain fields. There is a surprising series, inspired probably by Chartres, which begins, say, with the Queens of Sangüesa set up when the Templars' church was rebuilt early in the thirteenth century. It is continued at Benavente, at S. Juan del Mercado, likewise a church of Templars, begun before 1282 (Fig. 46). Again a Virgin and Angel appear on a Friars' church at Orense, 1387. And still another example is to be seen in work probably not earlier than the fifteenth century, at Villaviciosa on the north shore.

I cannot see that Santiago played any part in these and others like them, but there is, of course, a famous Gallegan series, directly inspired by the great metropolitan church. On S. Martín (1435), in the quaint Gallegan seaport of Noya, the Twelve Apostles are set in two rows against the columns but cover them completely; at S. Julian de Moraime the barbarous personages are hardly disengaged from their primal granite, and symbolic figures occupy the lower register, the result being more like the north bay on the west front at Chartres than we idolaters could wish.¹ The porch called Paradiso, in Orense Cathedral, is cited only for recognition, being a very close imitation of Santiago executed in the fifteenth century but having its own sort of precise and dainty loveliness. The door of S. Jeronimo in Compostela shows how imitation imposed the archaistic down into the Renaissance.

Of the source of all this and an incredible amount besides, it is not permissible to praise imperfectly or possible to speak adequately at the close of a study too long already: — the Gloria of Master Matthew, with its marked regional traits of countenance, its dramatic content, its overpowering sense of a life genial, ironic, and virile.

To Avila, for the western door of S. Vicente, came an influence from Compostela to modify the archaic Burgundian art. It is apparent not merely in the placing of seated figures on the inner face of the jambs and on the central post, but even more in the stir of life and feeling that may be apprehended in the personages, and in their subtlety (Fig. 16). At the same time and in the same region, on the outer door of S. Martín of Segóvia, had appeared the other more archaic convention, which placed the figure in a recess with very little suggestion of a column. The statues here sustain the capitals on their heads like caryatids, hieratic and mysterious. The source may well be presumed to lie at Avallon, which set a copy for the workmen of Count Raymond in Avila when they turned the archivolts of the portal of S. Vicente. So that sole remaining statue at St.-Lazare rivets the link that unites Provence to northern France and, by way of Burgundy, to Castile.

¹ See *Art Studies*, vol. I (1924), fig. 45, for Moraime; fig. 16 for Chartres.

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The porches of Toro and Ciudad Rodrigo show the same preference, setting the figures between the columns; but here also the debt to Santiago is easy to see (Fig. 48). All of this Compostelan cycle has a striking similarity, and a difference from anything properly French, in the place which the statues occupy, high up in the doorway, with the shafts below them carefully distinguished by a fresh set of capitals. This is not the mushroom base. The trait may be observed even on the porch of Tuy, and the imitation is plain at Bordeaux, in the splendid side porch of S. Seurin, and the porch of St.-Martin of Candes on the pilgrimage road. It is one of those characteristic Spanish traits to which the art if deflected by a foreign influence will always stubbornly return as soon as the pressure is relaxed.

Another such trait is the preference for placing figures like those of St.-Gilles within the marked intercolumniations; this was noted in speaking of the portal at Logroño. When at Burgo de Osma the Chancellor of St. Ferdinand (bishop there 1231-41) was building a small and very beautiful cathedral in the style that we call French Gothic, and fetched a carver indisputably from Champagne and almost certainly from the chantier of Rheims, he set his figures between free columns under a continuous canopy (Fig. 50). Selecting Hiniesta as a fourteenth-century example, we see how the deep splaying walls of the vaulted porch bear in an upper arcade below a row of canopies a row of statues which though ruined, stand where they have always stood (Fig. 55). So they are lined up in an arcade stretched straight and flat against the whole west wall, entirely independent of the jambs, in the *Apostolado* of Olite. Indeed, the north transept portal of Burgos (1257) has arrived already very nearly at this, the conventional line of Apostles being returned all along the wall. Because Spanish stone building, like Oriental, eschewed the thick walls by which that of the Ile-de-France is especially distinguished, it was forced to devise the characteristic and delightful *Apostolado* of Navarre. Meanwhile, — coming back to the free-standing jamb figure, — León set exquisite statues at every portal, as complete and independent as the Hermes of Praxiteles or the Victory of Paeonius; and in the north porch, which is the loveliest and most Spanish, left them conversing in ways unknown to France.

We are not to undertake here any consecutive account of the Gothic cathedral sculpture in Spain, and the ways in which it differs from the French and Rhenish which imposed themselves for imitation. Most important perhaps for this study is the indifference to shafting and the position of figures in the delicately shadowed hollows of intricate mouldings. This separates Annequin de Egas, working at Toledo, and all his lineage down to Henrique working at Santiago and Granada, from their Flemish ancestors, if indeed the Arab name of Egas be not evidence that the family was Spanish at the outset.



56. Base from Carchemish



57. Base from Besalú



58. Pamplona. Door of Chapter-House. St. Paul



59. Studenica. Door. Tree of Apostles



60. Valladolid. St. Peter

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The play of light and shade, the exquisite alternations in magnitude and importance, in the shafted moulding of the doorways of Navarre (Fig. 54) reveal the Oriental attitude toward pattern as something perpetually recurrent yet never twice alike, as a design always in movement, which came to the Spanish temper by right of inheritance, and found out other modulations in the Andalusian Gothic portals of Seville and Cordova.

The situation will by now be apparent: in Spain two opposite tendencies were strong, sometimes in conflict, oftener dominant by turns. Spain has a great plastic genius and a strange passion for pure design, the former driving men toward the free and dramatic statue, from the Romanesque age to the Baroque, from Master Matthew to Alonso Berruguete and Francisco Zarcillo; the latter reducing form, in all the arts, to the most abstract terms of pattern, and bringing about the styles which we call *plateresque* and *art nouveau*.

For entirely Spanish again, and unparalleled in the field under survey, is the conception by which the entire façade becomes the unit, in which a door plays a part like any other feature, but no more. As St.-Gilles and Ripoll afforded little to this study, so the great church fronts erected under the Catholic Kings must be left apart: at Aranda del Duero the façade of S. Maria; at Valladolid the work of Matias Carpintero (1485-99) on S. Pablo and S. Gregorio; at Burgos that of Simon de Colonia on the chapel of the Constable (1494); at Salamanca the new cathedral (1515-31); at Saragossa S. Engracia completed for Charles V. The architects and sculptors of the Catholic Kings had much the same feeling about decoration in the sixteenth century as had those of the Ghassanid princes at Mschatta in the sixth.

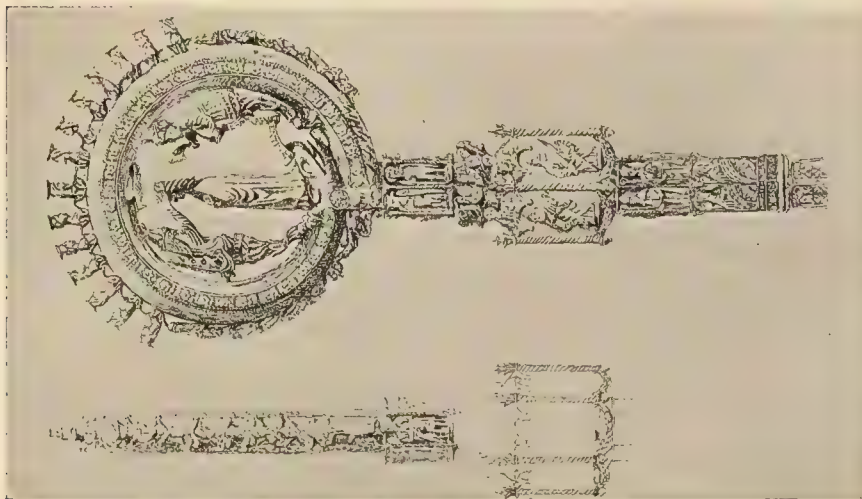
Another characteristic and quite different way to adorn a single door with a single pair of flanking statues was adumbrated already by the two fantastic Prophets of Agramunt (1283), and was specially affected always in the domains of the kings of Navarre and of Aragon (Fig 18). As examples, must serve the Virgin and Angel and the Church and Synagogue at Pamplona (mid-fourteenth century), the Apostles set up at S. Maria del Mar in Barcelona (1386), and reduplicated on the Gothic door at Murcia (1462?), the Saints, in a period and style corresponding to English Tudor, on the jambs of S. Jaime at Calatayud (Fig. 53); the early Renaissance figures of Sts. Peter and Paul in like place on the door of the chapter-room in the cloister at Pamplona (Fig. 58) again. Thence it is only a step to the sixteenth-century statues in their niches at the cathedral of Valladolid (1585). These last reproduce exactly the architectural motive depicted in the Munich ivory of the fourth century. So the wheel comes full circle, for the Valladolid figures, while following unconsciously the old mediaeval trend, are also at the same time to be referred to a conscious following of the antique. Spain was also of Roman lineage (Fig. 60).

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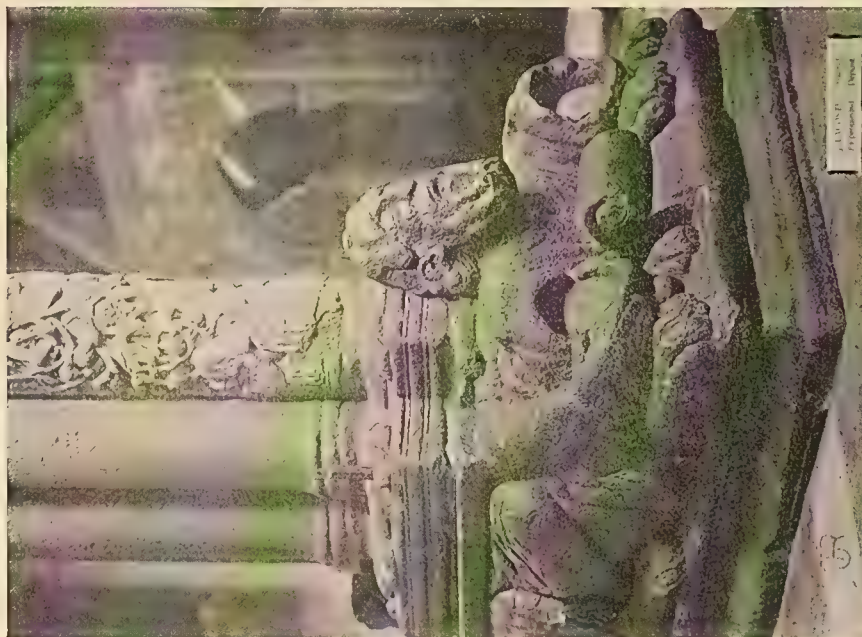
5

In conclusion, then, the following generalizations may be made:—The Romanesque motive of the vine may be traced immediately to East-imperial art, the source being Syrian, and to Syria and Asia Minor that of the superb acanthus rinceaux; later, in Europe, rather often to Bari; continuity may be traced into the Renaissance. The carved slabs and figures on the inner jamb face appear only in certain regions, often out of the way but all known to have had contact with the East immediately or at one remove; and the statue in this place had a special development, radiating from Santiago. The recessed portal, stepped or multiple-shafted, had its own history and an exquisite development in Italy concurrently with other forms, and so has in Spain a corresponding form of shafted moulding. The diapered shaft came early in the twelfth century to France, Italy, and Spain independently, probably from Mesopotamia. The Prophets in the work of Master Nicholas at Ferrara are native in theme, but in development as decoration have an Eastern source and were handed on to Toulouse and to Estella and León. The splendid figured portals of the south of France are autochthonous. The statue-column and the jamb statue took rise in the south of France and moved northward along great roads, of which the stages are plainly marked; but Spain shows dated instances earlier than any other country of the decorated jamb shaft, the recess statue, and the porch peopled with interrelated figures.

Approached from this angle, the perfection of French sculptured portals, in the complete conjunction of jambs, *voussoirs*, and tympanum, is seen to be something very limited both in time and in space — lying indeed mostly outside the confines of this investigation, and like Greek art, touching, perhaps for that very reason, an absolute perfection.



61. Pastoral Staff from Zara



63. Base from Santiago de Compostela.
(Lacoste phot.)



62. Pastoral Staff from Lesina

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NOTES

NOTE A. *The Crouching Slave*. — The motive of the crouching slave, as already said in the text, is to be traced back directly to Asia Minor. The intention is probably, at the back of all, magical.

It may be found in India as a sort of caryatid gnome, in the sculptures of the second century before Christ, at Barhut and Sanchi. At Termessos, in Pamphylia, a stooping pair hold up the arches of a priestess's tomb. The same form, doubled under the lintel of Romanesque doorways, recurs a millennium or more later in out-of-the-way places which nevertheless have known the passage of many feet through the long ages. Pompiere, for instance, where the motive serves as corbelling in the church door, lies in a region that has been traversed by the wandering nations ever since man was. As it appears on the Bari throne, and the Modena bases, the intention that underlay the incessant introduction of the figure on both sides of the Adriatic (counting carefully Verona among the cities that had traffic with the East and experience of seafarers), and in outlying spots like Toscanella and St.-Denis and S. Juan de la Peña, must be traced back at least as far as to the Hittite motive, which set a genius below a great gate-statue to bridle two enormous lions and guard the gates of the city against enemies temporal and spiritual (Fig. 56). The running pose that was to be familiar in archaic Greek art was transformed into a crouching discomfort; the presence of lions was to deflect other representations into a semblance of Daniel in the lions' den. But only as magical and Eastern may the figure be explained when he reappears, surprisingly contented, on a base of the great ambulatory at Besalú (Fig. 57) in the northeast of Spain at the beginning of the twelfth century; and again in the northwest is found embracing two of the symbolic monsters on which rests the central pier and so the whole portal of Master Matthew's porch at Santiago (Fig. 63). A bit of evidence that the intention was always magical exists in the fact that this group at Santiago is used still for a magical practice of casting sand, or sometimes merely thrusting a hand, down the monster's throat, of which no one, least of all the peasants who do it, can give any account. The occurrence of two crouching figures at Oloron, where the mountain passage began for pilgrims, under the central column of the porch, must be for the same reason, and it is noteworthy that they have the classical, the Emilian and Lombard, form.

NOTE B. *The Tree of Jesse*. — The ideal of a tree in which are seated figures was original neither with Master Benedetto nor with Abbot Suger half a century before. It was a commonplace of the Middle Ages, and passed from literature into the arts of design. That the Tree of Jesse was an Eastern theme originally can hardly be questioned. In the *Legendary of Cîteaux* (about 1125) the tree seems to me adapted from a monumental composition, probably carved, to which the collateral scenes have been added as convenient. The beautiful shaft of Compostela, carved with a Tree of Jesse, is perfectly in congruity with the other shafts adorned with rinceaux and figures, and was begun by 1166. It always flourished under the sun's rising. In the Serbian church of Studenica a rudimentary Tree of Apostles (Fig. 59) may be traced up the door jamb (about 1190). In Bukhovina,¹ which underwent no western influences, a favorite subject in the painting outside the wooden churches of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the Tree of Jesse. In Dalmatia the same tradition of a Tree lasted almost as long; Sir Thomas Jackson has published drawings of two crosiers that he saw, one at Zara of Archbishop Valaresso (1460), and the other at Lesina, given by Bishop

¹ Strzygowski, *Origins of Christian Church Art*, p. 160.

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Patrizio (1509–22), in which the goldsmiths had rejoiced in devising Trees of the Apostles and of the Prophets respectively.

Of Trees of many sorts the examples in Giottesque painting are innumerable and go back again to a literary source. S. Bonaventura is the painters' point of departure. Those in Florence are well known. In Barcelona Arnaut Bassa had signed in 1348 a contract with the abbess of Pedralbes to paint an *Abragium* (a Tree of Abraham such as he or his father had beheld at Orvieto) with all the figures that she wanted, to reach all the way to the roof. Another may be seen in the marvellous Bible of D. Dalmacio de Mur, painted by Bernard of Modena, which came into Spain as a king's gift to the great archbishop. Such another Tree, this time of Friars, has survived from the fourteenth century on the church wall of S. Pantaleone of Dolianova in Sardinia.

The *Radix Jesse*, in which perhaps the scriptorium founded by Stephen Harding thought to have invented a new symbol, had a deeper root than the twelfth century could divine; alike in the Brunswick ivory, where Yima sits at the top of the Tree and a figure reclines at the bottom, and in the wall painting at Bazalik in Chinese Turkestan,¹ where the little roundels on each side play their part too in the monumental composition, we can see what else contributed to make up a final iconographic theme, composite but thereafter flourishing.

NOTE C. *The Moslem Angle Shaft*. — The angle shaft as seen for instance in the mosques of Cairo and Constantinople, cannot be held to play any part in the development of European jamb sculpture, but must be, for reasons so far obscure, a Moslem trait, which whenever it appears betrays a relation with Moslem artificers. It is anticipated by the fantastic treatment of the angles of the piers in the palatine chapel at Ani² (622).

It appears complete on the piers of the mosque of Ibn Tulun (879) in Cairo, and there in each of the edges of the *mihrab* niche are sunk two columns, themselves antique, as columns were to be inserted thereafter in every Turkish mosque, and in other buildings to boot. Here, then, everything must be accounted for, and thereafter it will suffice to show imitation, as in the case of Traù considered in the text.

Makrisy calls the architect of Ibn Tulun *Nazrany* and not *Rumy*, so he could not have been a Byzantine, and it is commonly held that he was a native Egyptian or Copt, since indeed Ahmad Ibn Tulun had a friendship for Copts, as El Masudy indicated who had talked much with one who had known the great Turkish Emir. It would be pleasing to assume that he was an Armenian, who should know Ani, like the brothers who three hundred years later, in the Fatimite era, built the gates of Cairo for an Armenian vizir, Bedr el Gemaly; but unluckily it is the same historian who gives the nationality in the later case and withholds it in the former, so the argument from silence must be valid. The architect offered to build a mosque "without any columns save the two beside the Kibla." Whence came the requirement of them there is not certainly known, but apparently the angle shaft was already required in the canon of the niche, as that was received from the Hellenistic architecture. The building was to be constructed "out of mortar and cinders and red brick well burnt," to make it safe from fire, and the plastered piers have moulded engaged shafts at each corner, constituting, with the pointed arches that rest on them, an effect like a vista of innumerable doorways. Already that device was employed on the Road to Mecca, at Attûba. Just so the little arched windows set above each, to lighten the mass in the spandrels, have moulded angle shafts. Herzfeld has shown that the octagonal piers of the mosque at Samarra

¹ Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, figs. 36 and 37.

² Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier*, p. 139, fig. 150.

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(843 and on) carried four such engaged columns. Since knowing that, we must admit that the idea presumably came to Cairo out of Mesopotamia and that the Emir, highly educated, trained in the schools of Tarsus and of Bagdad, probably called an architect from his own country, where Christians flourished at the capital under the Abbasid caliphs.¹

The use of the angle shaft, then, for niches, windows, and doorways, comes directly from that of colonnettes which flank niches in East-imperial art; in the second century at Is-Sanamén the columns are still free in front of the niches, as they are at the Golden Gate of Spalato, in the fourth, and as, similarly, in the plans which Rivoira² reproduces and which by his hypothesis must represent building done before the second third of the fourth century, the columns are standing free of the *exedrae* and in front of them. The gate portals of Theodosius and Theodoric, fifth-century building, have been cited in the text. The free colonnette of classical tradition and marble building combined with the Mesopotamian tradition of recessed arcades and engaged semi-columns (like those at Ctesiphon of the sixth century) which is proper to brick building; it is most likely to have occurred precisely on the Tigris bank among the splendid wasteful palace cities that each caliph reared for his successor to abandon.

Rivoira points out with justice that the true angle shaft may be found high up in the sanctuary arch of Germigny-les-Prés. That belongs (806) earlier in the ninth century than any eastern instances known so far, and like the horse-shoe arch and the centripetal type of building must stand to indicate that the Spanish bishop Theodulf of Orleans had taken his builder from the East.

From the beautiful Seljuk building of Asia Minor, which was begun in Konieh, with the mosque designed (1210-1219) for Ala-eddin by Mohammed Ibn Charlan of Damascus, the true jamb shaft is never absent; not wanting at Akschehir and Beischehir and Egherdir, where Sarre photographed; nor, farther south, at Indjir Khan and the *medressh* of Adalia. Thereafter the form constitutes one of the beauties of the great renaissance of architecture in Turkish Constantinople. In Persia, perhaps, it counted less, for in the Blue Mosque of Tabriz it is disused and a spiral moulding carried all around the door instead.

Where we find it used in Spain, as on the tower of S. Estéban in Segóvia, or on the outer edge of the portal face, as at Ripoll, history confirms the fact of Mudéjar work there. The insertion as angle shafts of the carved marble columns at Traù in the thirteenth century may come from a Coptic source. For there was plenty of intercourse between the eastern Mediterranean and the home of the Dalmatian seafarers, and, indeed, Sir Thomas Jackson remarks of the fourteenth-century carved stalls at Spalato that they reproduce exactly Coptic patterns which he had known in Egypt.

There are traces of the same motive in a few out-of-the-way early churches in the south of France, St.-Martin-de-Londres and St.-Paul-de-Varax, for example; and elsewhere, as in the strange lost tiny city which survives with so many outlandish tokens in the heart of Tuscany, S. Quirico d'Orcia (Fig. 22). All these must be explained as a "contamination" of the ordinary portal with its recess columns brought about by some experience of Moslem buildings or artificers.

NOTE D. *The Dates of Santiago*. — At Santiago the actual building was begun in 1078; in 1102 D. Diego brought home some precious relics from Portugal and put them in the chapel of St. Saviour (the easternmost ambulatory chapel) till one of the transept chapels

¹ J. Labourte, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse sous la Dynastie Sassanide*, p. 349.

² Rivoira, *Le Origine dell' Architetture Lombarda*, figs. 60, 216, 217, 345, 429.

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could be decorated and a shrine prepared; then they were translated thither, in 1104; the next year the great altar of St. James was finished and all the eastern part of the church consecrated. To anyone who knows the church personally that must mean that the transepts were finished. The fire of 1117 was an episode of the siege that D. Diego and the Queen sustained in the church, and chapter cxiv of the *Historia Compostellana*, if read consecutively, reveals how the church was completed and furnished then. In 1120 the west front was already built, for the Archbishop was consecrating his chapel in the western tribune. But indeed Aymery Picaud, who came to Compostela in 1120, saw and described the western portal along with the other two. In 1124 there had been time for the chantier to get stale, and D. Diego organized a drive to get money for the cloisters and other dependencies. The passage in the *Historia* (chapter lxxviii) which describes how in 1112 the little old church inside was taken down and carried out piecemeal implies that the nave vaults were ready for closing in, though foreigners have been misled who did not understand Spanish ritual arrangements and the position of the quire; they are apt also to forget how fast the work would go in a place so frequented and so loved, to which the ends of the earth brought offerings.

In selecting illustrations, the intention was to omit what was accessible to all (*e.g.*, Verona, Toscanella, Toulouse), and even sometimes what perhaps is in circulation only through Professor Kingsley Porter's invaluable but costly corpus of pilgrimage sculpture (*e.g.*, Villaviciosa, Santiago), retaining what is less known or used directly for comparison in the text. For permission to reproduce thanks are due to the British Museum and D. G. Hogarth of the Ashmolean, the Victoria and Albert, the Boston Museum, those of Bergen and Oslö, the Hispanic Society of America, the Italian Ministry of Fine Arts, M. Gabriel Millet, Sir Thomas Jackson, Professor A. Kingsley Porter, my friend E. H. Lowber, Alinari brothers, L'Arxiv Mas, Barcelona.

THE TOMBS AT PAÇO DE SOUSA





1. Paço de Sousa. Reliefs from the Tomb of Egas Moniz and that of his Son, Mendo Viegas

THE TOMBS AT PAÇO DE SOUSA

By J. MONTEIRO D'AGUIAR ¹

THE tomb of Egas Moniz at Paço de Sousa enjoys no doubt a certain sort of local reputation,² but its beauty and interest are probably unsuspected by even close students of Romanesque sculpture. It seems, therefore, worth while to call attention to the problems it presents, and to its relationship to monuments in distant and much more eastern regions of Europe.

The monastery of Paço de Sousa was founded in 956. In 1088 a new church was consecrated by Don Pedro, archbishop of Braga, who officiated at the request of Don Egas Ermiges. Of this building of the eleventh century nothing remains. The church which at present survives is obviously a reconstruction of the Gothic period, and the existing monastic buildings are of the seventeenth century.

Adjoining the church on the northern side, and connected with it by a passage through the transept, was once a chapel, called in old documents, "Egreja do Corporal." Here was the burial-place of the founders of the abbey, Don Truitozendo Gallendis, his wife, Animia, and their descendants. Here too, in 1144, was buried Egas Moniz, a scion of the same noble family, and himself the greatest benefactor of the monastery.

In the early part of the seventeenth century the chapel of the Corporal threatened ruin, and was demolished. The ashes of Egas Moniz, and his monument, were removed in 1605 to the sanctuary of the church of the monastery. In 1741 the tomb was again transported to another place in the choir, and in 1784, when the sanctuary was rebuilt, the fragments were finally deposited where they still are, partly in the north, partly in the south side aisle of the nave. Although many stones of the monument are missing (notably the base, steps, and the like), the monks appear to have carefully preserved the most important reliefs.

It has always been assumed up to the present that all the fragments of sculpture preserved in the church come from one tomb, that of Egas Moniz. Such, however, does not appear to be the case. Adjoining the tomb of Egas Moniz in the chapel of the Corporal was another tomb, that of Egas's son,

¹ Edited, with photographs, by A. Kingsley Porter.

² Duarte Galvão, *Chronica d'el Rei Don Alfonso Henriques*, Cap. xii, p. 16. Christovão Rodrigues Acenheiro, *Chronica dos Reis de Portugal*, Cap. ii, p. 29, *apud* Tom. V. *Ineditos da Acad. Real de Sciencias de Lisboa*. Frey Leão de San Thomaz, *Benedictina Lusitana*, Tom. II, parte 4a, tract. i, Cap. xiv. Antonio d'Almeida, *Mem. polemica, acerca da jornada de Egas Moniz a Toledo* (*Mem. da Acad. Real de Sciencias de Lisboa*, Tom. XI). *Diccionario historico*, V, 345; L. de Mendoza e Costa, *Manual do viajante em Portugal*. Lisboa, Caminhos de Ferro, 1924.

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Mendo Viegas, who died seven years before his father. These tombs adjoined. As will presently be seen, there is reason to believe that both tombs are represented by the extant fragments.

Notwithstanding the present disordered placing, something of the original forms of the tomb of Egas Moniz may still be made out. To it certainly belonged the sarcophagus lid, now deposited on the north side of the nave of the church and bearing the inscription:

*HIC REQUIESCIT FL'S DEI EGAS MONIZ VIR INCLITVS
ERA MILLESIMA CENTESIMA LXXXII*

With the exception of an uncial *h*, the letters are all capitals; some of the *c*'s are square, the *a*'s are without a bar in the Spanish fashion, and the *m* is uncial, with the first loup entirely closed. The words are separated by three dots.

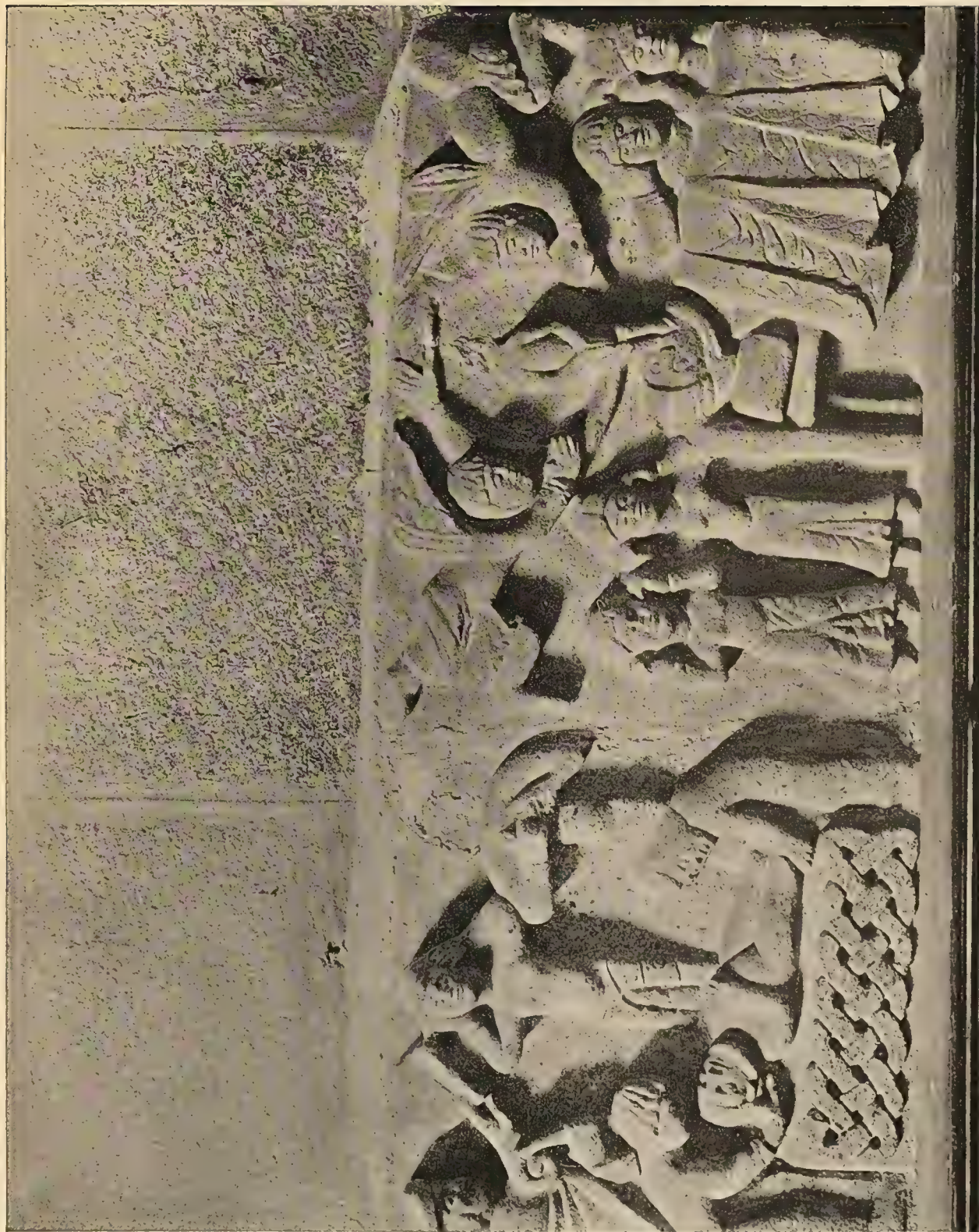
The evidence of the inscription is, of course, conclusive that this lid comes from the tomb of Egas, and that the latter died in 1144. Now some of the reliefs can be identified by the iconography with equal certainty as having come from the same tomb.

Unhappily, no trustworthy account of the monument, written when it was still intact in the chapel of the Corporal, exists. Frei Antonio da Soledade, a Benedictine monk, chronicler of the abbey of Paço de Sousa, wrote a description of the tomb about the middle of the eighteenth century, and this is preserved in a manuscript book of the monastery known as the *Diatario*; the description purports to be of the tomb as it was in the Corporal (*como estava no Corporal*), but it is evidently unreliable, for the author describes unfaithfully the sculptures which are still extant. It was this manuscript which served as the basis for the *Memoria Polemica* cited above.

The historical events alluded to in the sculptures are the following: —

Egas Moniz was the *ayo*, that is, foster-father or tutor of our first king Alfonso I, at the time (1127) a lad of seventeen. Alfonso VII, king of León and Castile, claimed recognition as suzerain of Portugal and for that reason

mit le siège devant la ville de Guimarães, où le fils de Henrique s'était renfermé. Le siège fut poursuivi avec vigueur, et s'il fallait croire la tradition adoptée par tous les écrivains du seizième siècle, ce serait uniquement au dévouement de son *Ayo*, ou, si l'on aime mieux, de son gouverneur, que Don Afonso Henriques [Afonso I] aurait dû son salut. Effrayé du danger que courait le jeune prince, Egas Moniz se serait éloigné secrètement de Guimarães; puis il aurait obtenu au prix de certaines conditions que Alfonso VII levât le siège et se retirât dans ses Etats. Les anciens écrivains ajoutent que ces conditions, qui n'avaient pas été consenties par Alfonso Henriques, furent rejetées par lui. Egas Moniz, voyant qu'il pourrait être taxé de *foi mentie* (ce sont les expressions de Camões) passa à Toledo avec sa famille. Lui, sa femme et ses enfants se présentèrent alors devant Alfonso VII. Ainsi que nous l'avons dit autre-part, ils s'étaient vêtus comme des gens condamnés à mort; non seulement ils mar-



2. Paço de Sousa. Reliefs of the Death and Burial of Egas Moniz, from his Tomb

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chaient pieds nus, mais ils portaient la corde au cou, prêts à subir le dernier supplice. Touché de ce dévouement sans bornes, à la parole donnée, le suzerain de Léon leur fit grâce. L'esprit sceptique de notre siècle a nié ce fait héroïque, et bien que le nom d'Egas Moniz soit resté comme un symbole de la loyauté portugaise, plusieurs écrivains dont l'autorité fait foi, relèguent le récit qui constate son dévouement parmi les légendes chevaleresques du moyen âge. . . . Ce qu'il y a de bien certain, c'est qu'un monument découvert assez récemment, et figuré dans les *Mémoires de l'Académie de Sciences de Lisbonne* (*Memorias da Academia de Sciencias, Tom. XI*¹) prouve que cette noble tradition racontée avec enthousiasme par les écrivains espagnols eux-mêmes (Argote de Molina, entre autres. Voy. *Noblezza de Andalusia*) remonte à une très haute antiquité. Si elle n'a pas été élevée précisément en l'année 1146, la tombe d'Egas Moniz n'en porte pas moins tous les caractères architectoniques du douzième siècle. Or, le grand homme y est représenté avec sa famille au moment où, selon l'expression du chroniqueur espagnol, il s'écrie: "Ma langue a erré, mon corps doit payer."² Selon le récit admis par toutes les chroniques, Afonso VII fit grâce à celui qui savait réclamer ainsi le châtimement d'une noble faute. Egas Moniz vécut longtemps encore dans ses vastes possessions, situées aux environs de Porto.³

The following account is given in the *Historia de Portugal*, by João Felix Pereira (Lisboa, 1846), tome I, page 36:

Em 1127 entrou (Afonso VII) com mão armada em Portugal, atacando, rompendo e assolando quanto lhe tolhia o passo, e sitiou Guimarães, onde estava Afonso Henriques. Os portugueses ao principio oppozeram-se com vigor, mas fallidos de recursos para hombrear com o exercito leonez, prometteram submissão a Afonso. Egas Moniz abonou a promessa. Afonso descerrou a villa. No anno seguinte (1128), estando já Afonso Henriques de posse de Portugal, não quiz este principe haver-se em conformidade com o pacto de Guimarães. Então Egas Moniz, escravo da sua palavra, encaminhou-se á côrte de Leão, acompanhado de seus filhos e de sua molher, todos descalços, vestidos de reus sentenciados á morte, e elle com uma corda ao pescoço expoz ao rei (Afonso VII), que com o sacrificio de que elle fosse victima queria desafrontar a sua honra. O generoso monarcha, movido de tão extraordinario rasgo de lealdade, os despediu sãos e salvos.⁴

E' n'este anno que se deve collocar a tão celebrada façanha de Egas Moniz (1127), sobre a qual havia nos nossos velhos chronistas uma tal contradição chronologica que, dando em resultado absurdos manifestos, faria ir a pique esta bella tradição de heroismo e lealdade, se um monumento coevo⁵ affirmando-a incontestavelmente, não lhe desse fóros historicos.

¹ The above-mentioned *Memoria Polemica*.

² Ce curieux monument, dont le caractère est fort grossier du reste, peut être visité dans l'ancien monastère des bénédictins, désigné sous le nom de Paço de Sousa, à cinq lieues de Porto. Le monastère aurait été édifié vers 956. . . . Nous ferons remarquer en passant, et comme un fait bien peu connu, tout ce qu'il y avait de culture intellectuelle dans cette famille. Le titre de *Trobador* appartenait depuis longtemps à l'une de ces membres; un manuscrit portugais de la Bibliothèque Royale, dont l'ancienneté n'est pas douteuse, dit, en parlant du frère d'Egas Moniz, qu'il savait merveilleusement la langue des arabes; savoir la langue des Maures, en ce temps, c'était avoir la clef de bien des sciences.

³ Ferdinand Denis, *Portugal*. (Paris, 1846), p. 5.

⁴ This author also quotes: Antonio d'Almeida, *Memoria da Acad. Real de Sciencias de Lisboa, Tom. XI, parte 4*; Antonio Maria Bonucci, *Istoria della vita ed eroiche azioni di D. Afonso Enriches, Lib. I, Cap. 3*; Luiz de Camões, *Luziadas, cant. 3, estr. 41*, and *cant. 8, estr. 15*.

⁵ "Este monumento é o tumulo d'Egas Moniz, . . . onde em esculptura tosca, e que remonta incontestavelmente ao seculo XII, como foi demonstrado n'uma memoria especial, publicada no Vol. XI das da Academia, estão representadas umas figuras allusivas á viagem de Leão."

THE TOMBS AT PAÇO DE SOUSA

. . . O rei de Leão (Afonso VII) tomando as praças e os castellos, pasáva a final diante Guimarães onde estava encerrado seu primo. Reduzido ao ultimo apuro, Afonso Henriques, vin-se obrigado a reconhecer a supermacia do monarcha Leonez, e Egas Moniz, poderoso fidalgo e espelho de lealdade, deu-se como fiador d'essa promessa de vassalagem. Afonso VII levantou o cerco. . . Foi então (1128) que o infante D. Afonso empunhando as redeas do governo, olvidou completamente a promessa do seu aio, ou antes se mostrou resolvido a não a cumprir. . . Rigido cumpridor da sua palavra, Egas Moniz foi com a esposa e os filhos oferecer a Afonso de Leão a sua vida e a vida dos innocentes para resgate da sua fé. O filho de Urraca (Afonso VII) sentiu o que havia de grande n'esta acção, e despediu o cavaleiro incolume e livre, com provas do grande apreço em que o tinha.¹

Now it is evidently this story of Egas Moniz that is represented in the uppermost relief on the south side of the nave (Fig. 1). The two figures to the extreme right, representing a woman with an attendant, are perhaps out of place; they more probably belonged with the reliefs of the opposite side, and depict the grief of Egas's wife at his death. At all events, this is one of the fine figures of the tomb. Then to the left we have Egas Moniz on his way to Toledo; his hands are bound, and there is a cord about his neck proclaiming his mission. This figure, which was doubtless also very beautiful, has unfortunately lost its head. The horse is executed with realism and great technical skill. Behind follows an attendant, carrying a spade over his shoulder, ready to dig his master's grave. This is a superb bit of sculpture. Then follow Egas's son and his wife, also on horse-back. The heads of these two horses are very inferior in technique to that of Egas's horse; it is evident that they must be the work of an assistant. On the short side of the sarcophagus, behind Egas's wife, is a seated figure, perhaps representing one of Egas's children.

On the opposite side of the tomb was represented the death and burial of Egas (Fig. 2). To the right he lies in his bed; his soul, issuing from his mouth, is received by two angels holding a napkin. About his bed, his sons and daughters tear their hair; and at the foot, as has been already suggested, perhaps stood the fine figure of his wife, now incorporated with the reliefs on the opposite side of the nave. Further to the left is seen the burial; the naked corpse is placed in a sarcophagus; a bishop reads the requiem mass; in the background are mourners.

There is no room for doubt that the fragments so far described belonged to the tomb of Egas Moniz. On the other hand, grave doubt may not unreasonably exist in regard to two others, at present placed below the reliefs of the Journey to Toledo, on the south side of the nave. These are executed in

¹ Pinheiro Chagas, *Historia de Portugal* (Lisboa, 1899), Vol. I, cap. iii, pp. 14, 15. This author quotes the monumental work of Alexander Herculano, *Historia de Portugal*, Vol. I, note xii, and Vol. II, to confirm the tradition of the journey of Egas Moniz to the court of León, and the authenticity of the tomb of the hero in the church at Paço de Sousa.



5. Paço de Sousa. Corbel of Portal



3. Detail from the Tomb of Egas Moniz, .
Paço de Sousa



4. Paço de Sousa. Statue of St. Peter,
West Façade

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a different and ruder stone; moreover, the figure work is inferior to even the poorest figure work of the other group. The two slabs look as if they might have been the two long sides of a low sarcophagus. One is decorated with an ornamental pattern, the other with sculptures. The iconography of the latter has never been satisfactorily explained.¹ If, however, as there seems reason to suspect, the stones come from the tomb of Egas's son, Mendo Viegas, they doubtless refer to some event in his life.²

In style, the sculptures show a mixture of Leonine (hitherto erroneously called Toulousan) and Burgundian elements. The former are evident in the puffy cheeks and poppy eyes of several of the figures, like the "wife" of Egas Moniz in Figure 1. The latter appear in the draperies and clumsy feet, paralleled in Burgundian works like the altar at Avenas. The better portions of the tomb of Egas Moniz were evidently, then, executed by a sculptor who had come in contact with French and Spanish work of a generation earlier.³

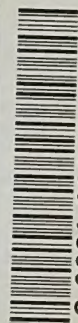
¹ Here is what is said about it in the *Diccionario Historico*, V, 345. Na segunda pedra vae o resto da caravana, composta de quatro creanças montadas n'uma mulher, tambien montada, tendo á sua direita, a pé, uma mulher e atraz de si um homem e uma mulher: segue-se uma especie de camilha com quatro creanças e atraz d'ellas tres mulheres.

² J. Monteiro d'Aguiar is of the opinion that these reliefs also represent episodes of the Journey to Toledo.

³ Outside the church of Paço de Sousa may be seen a crudely sculptured St. Peter (Fig. 3). There is nothing to indicate that this figure ever was connected with either of the tombs. It is perhaps more nearly contemporary with the corbels of the portal (Fig. 5).







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